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H. B. H. the Duke of Edinburgh.

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AND

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4, Esplanade, East, Calcutta.

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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LXX.

1880.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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CALCUTTA REVIEW

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CXXXIX.

ART. I.—ON CERTAIN INDIAN TAXES.—A SYMPOSIUM.

The Indian Land Tax.

The Famine Insurance Act.

The Ten per cent Cess.

The Fluctuating Revenue Act—drawn up by Mr.
JUSTICE CUNNINGHAM, for the consideration of the
Famine Commission.

A SYMPOSIUM.

SIR JOHN WESTLAKE,—*A late Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Eastern Provinces.*

MR. COURTNEY,—*Collector and Magistrate of the District of Jehanabad, in the Upper Provinces.*

RAJAH KASHI NATH,—*A landowner in Bengal with an extensive estate and a numerous tenantry.*

BABOO RAM CHARAN CHATTERJEE, B. A.,—*A distinguished Professor of the Presidency College, Calcutta.*

SIR JOHN WESTLAKE.—It is agreed by all of us, I suppose, that the land-tax is the oldest, best liked, and most legitimate of all the taxes levied in India.

RAJAH KASHI NATH.—It falls very heavily on landowners.

BABOO RAM CHARAN CHATTERJEE, B. A.—And as heavily on the ryots.

SIR JOHN.—I am surprised to hear this. The land-tax has been paid for ages throughout the whole of India with remarkable steadiness, and has, as you well know, been regarded not more as an hereditary right on the part of rulers who have received it, than as an hereditary privilege on the part of those who have paid it. The zemindar would expect that some calamity was about to befall him, were the tax suddenly to be abolished.

RAJAH KASHI NATH.—That is quite correct. Nevertheless, my statement is so true that it hardly requires any proof. Who pays the tax but we landowners? And is it a fair distribution of

taxation, I ask, that nearly one-half of the entire revenue of the country should be contributed by a comparatively small section of the community?

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—Rajah Sahib, you take credit for more than is your due. No doubt the landowners actually pay the revenue to the Government, but, as a fact, not a single pice comes out of their pockets. They are much too sharp for that. It all comes from the poor ryots, whose rents are regulated according to the Government demand. You live comfortably. Your clothes are of the best Manchester fabrics; your wife and daughters dress in the finest silks, and are covered with golden ornaments and precious jewels. Your food, moreover, is the choicest that the country yields. But look at the ryot, his food and raiment are of the coarsest, and in the most successful season, when the crops have been abundant, there is no perceptible change in his condition. You pay your revenue, and, having done so, can afford luxuries, while the ryot finds it hard to keep body and soul together.

SIR JOHN.—I perceive that, however you differ as to the incidence of the tax, you are both agreed that the tax is a great burden. It strikes me forcibly that you are most unjust towards the Government in entertaining such an idea. The administration of the country, it is needless to say, is costly. All the departments must be efficiently maintained. You would not be satisfied with misrule and insecurity of life and property. Nor would you like to hear that an enemy was on your borders, threatening the destruction of your homesteads and the ruin of your families. The land-tax was levied by Mahomedan emperors. Your forefathers were accustomed to it, and paid it, I do not know whether cheerfully or not, but paid it as a duty incumbent on them, and as a habit which became second nature. They knew very well that, had they ventured to charge their rulers with laying a grievous burden upon them, they would have rendered themselves liable to heavy punishment. Now, because it is your happy lot to be governed in a generous and magnanimous manner, whereby you are free to speak and act very much as you please, you exclaim loudly, without the smallest hesitation, against this time-honoured tax, and pronounce it to be a burden, thereby showing no proper appreciation of the great political freedom you now enjoy.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—You are warm, Sir John. As a member of the Administration you speak feelingly. I am free to acknowledge with gratitude that the Government of India is generous and magnanimous, as you state; and I wish you to understand, it is not because of hostility to the Government, but because of the liberty of thought and action it has given me, that I venture to

affirm that the land-tax is a heavy burden on the people of India. There are several reasons which have led me to this conclusion. One is the inequality of this tax imposed on agriculture, as compared with that imposed on other industries.

MR. COURTNEY.—In my opinion the Baboo has grounds for his complaint, though perhaps not exactly such as he imagines. Taxation is a relative term. In a properly organized State, it is really a contract between those who govern and those who are governed, the former engaging to rule the country inhabited by the latter, who, on their part, engage to find the money needed for so doing. It should consequently be imposed on all parties in a State, in proportion to the stake they have in it. This is two-fold, having relation to a man's person, and also to his property. In regard to the one, all have an equal stake, but not so in regard to the other. Now, property has a tendency to accumulate in the hands of a few, and in some countries, in India for example, largely consists of lands and houses. Do I understand the Baboo to suggest that, in his judgment, property of all descriptions, real and personal, should pay a uniform tax, proportioned to the value, for the time being, of the thing taxed?

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—Yes, exactly so.

MR. COURTNEY.—I thought as much. But do you not perceive that the one kind of property is liable to a thousand changes, fluctuations, and influences to which the other is not exposed? Land is permanent. It can be neither eaten, nor burnt, nor destroyed. No doubt it can be injured by dearth and floods, especially in its produce; but this is a temporary evil, and, although of some importance, as I shall presently show, is soon followed by a return to prosperity, owing to the inherent and irrepressible fecundity of the earth's soil. The case is different, however, with personal property, such as manufacturers' money, tradesmen's stores, and the like. These may be burnt up, or stolen, or spoiled; and at best are so affected by vicissitudes as to be an uncertain species of property, requiring the utmost vigilance on the part of their possessor lest he suddenly lose them, or lest they be depreciated in value. For this reason alone, irrespective of others which might be adduced, it will never be either just or fair to tax such property in the same way in which land is taxed.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—Yet land is not taxed in many countries.

MR. COURTNEY.—That is quite true. Especially is it the case in new countries, like America, Canada, and the colonies; the reason being that it is necessary to have forests cleared and enormous tracts of waste land brought under cultivation. But this can be done only by attracting emigrants from other countries,

for there is no indigenous population to undertake the task. Hence great efforts are made, and were the lands, when cleared, to be immediately burdened with taxation, few would quit their homes and cross the sea on such an expedition. Nevertheless you will find, in most old countries, the land more or less subjected to burdens. In England there is no direct land-tax, but there is what amounts to the same thing, a two-fold burden on land in the shape of tithes and poor rates. Yet, while I conceive that a tax on land in some form is one of the most legitimate modes of taxation, on the other hand, I plainly see that the burden may become excessive, and may be unfairly great as compared with that imposed on other property.

This brings me to the subject of the Indian land-tax, an old and respectable impost, to which, as you know, the people take kindly. One important question which presents itself is, whether the land-owners or ryots, or whoever the payers of the tax may be, are, all things considered, unfairly taxed in comparison with other persons.

Setting out with the proposition that all persons in a nation should bear their due share of taxation, the point for decision is what is that share? The rich should manifestly pay more than the poor, not so much because they can afford to do so as because they have a larger stake in the country. At the same time, it is clearly unfair that one class should pay taxes and another should not, or that one class should pay disproportionately to others, or that one kind of property, yielding necessities, should be taxed, and another yielding luxuries should get off scot free.

SIR JOHN.—Yet, is there any country on the face of the earth which is taxed with absolute fairness?

MR. COURTNEY.—No, there is not. And I suppose it is Utopian to look forward to the time when the taxation of a people will be carried on in accordance with perfect equity. Nevertheless, some countries are much wiser and juster in this matter than others.

SIR JOHN.—The difficulty is not so much theoretical as practical. You would find it hard to get governments to put such principles into practice, although assenting to their soundness theoretically.

MR. COURTNEY.—This I grant, and therefore leave the subject, hoping for the time when the minds of men generally will be swayed by strict justice, and not, as at present, by expediency. The distribution of taxation, however, in some of its aspects, is a matter of very great importance. I am astonished that the Government should exhibit such cheerfulness and confidence in imposing the land-tax in its present swollen dimensions, consi-

dering how valid many of the objections are which may be brought against it. Should blight or drought visit a district, it becomes at once incapable of paying the revenue, and, if the tax be roughly exacted from the zemindars, their condition is not only made worse thereby, but the evil day for the revenue, which is sure to come at last, is likewise worse than it would have been. The tax is very unequally levied throughout India, bearing more heavily on one district than on another, according to the settlement made. Moreover, the impost, in the very nature of the case, is of a fixed and rigid character, and thus promotes the stagnation of the national life, a great calamity in a country where everything is so motionless and dull. There is a constant tendency on the part of the Government, as you are aware, to increase the burdens on land. My contention is, that it already pays more than its fair share.

SIR JOHN.—It is easy to say so; but how do you prove it?

MR. COURTNEY.—I acknowledge the proof is difficult, perhaps impossible, to give; the chief reason being that we do not know in India, what the aggregate value of personal property amounts to. We may form a conjecture, which may be altogether wide of the mark. Indeed, we can only conjecture the value even of real property, for, although we may approximately estimate the value of land, yet we shall be utterly unable to make a proper estimate of house-property. Satisfactory statistics on these subjects are much needed, and would be of great value for legislative purposes alone, independently of other considerations. A well digested enquiry into all the bearings of Indian taxation, would be both interesting and useful. You ask me to adduce proofs of the unfairness in the inequality of the burden of the land-tax. Look at the question practically. Here is a rich banker with his laes of rupees, coining money at the rate of twelve, fifteen, twenty, and thirty per cent., and upwards, on his loans, and all that he contributes to the State is the palty amount of his License Tax, which he grumbles at paying, and the sums expended on stamps, which in reality are not paid by him, but by his clients. On the other hand, here is a zemindar, living near by, who gives a fourth of his income, and sometimes a third, or even more, in the shape of revenue to the Government.

SIR JOHN.—Perhaps the banker, as is often the case, is himself a land-holder, owning a large estate.

MR. COURTNEY.—Perhaps so—but perhaps he is not. And if he is, we must dissociate his condition as a banker from his condition as a landowner. In the former capacity he pays almost nothing as

revenue, while in the latter, he pays on a very different scale ; which circumstance strengthens my argument, instead of weakening it. The case of the banker is the case of a very large number of wealthy and influential citizens of every city and town throughout India ; for the class, as you are aware, is exceedingly numerous. This inequality is perceptible at all times, but is especially manifest in times of great scarcity, when the land-owner is put to his wits' end to raise money to pay his revenue, which he does in most cases by application to the banker, who makes a rich harvest out of his ruin.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—I cannot understand why you speak only of land-owners, as if the poor ryots did not share in their troubles. Many of them pay revenue directly to the Government, and those who do not, help the zemindars in their payments.

MR. COURTNEY.—I meant no disrespect to the ryots, nor did I intend to overlook them. They are the most laborious and honest class in the land. But I have not yet finished my argument. I have singled out the bankers, as affording the most signal instance of almost entire exemption from direct taxation ; but most of my observations apply with more or less force to nearly all merchants, traders, and shop-keepers, who flourish everywhere, and scarcely pay any taxes, besides the obnoxious License Tax.

SIR JOHN.—Have you forgotten the octroi, which is paid in all municipalities ?

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—Which levies an impost on our fruit and vegetables, on wood, and on every imaginable article of commerce entering our cities. Assuredly, the fetters of taxation are very heavy upon my fellow-countrymen.

MR. COURTNEY.—Your observations, Baboo, are, I am sorry to tell you, conceived in no true spirit of patriotism, as I hope to prove to the satisfaction of yourself and of my other friends. I had not forgotten the octroi. But who pays it ? Why, in the first instance, for the most part, the same farmers and cultivators who pay the land-tax and other land burdens. I grant, however, that the price of produce is slightly enhanced thereby to the ultimate purchaser. Perhaps, it would be fair to say that the two share it between them. Of this, however, I am certain, that the corn-factor, tradesman, dealer, or whoever the middle-man may be who purchases the produce or goods, and sells them to his customers, pays nothing : he takes very good care not to do that.

BABOO RAMCHARAN.—Speaking from experience and observation, my opinion is that in reality the octroi is paid chiefly by

the corn-factors, tradesmen, and others in business in a municipality.

MR. COURTNEY.—The shoe pinches, I see. Yet, is it not true that, when any emergency comes, such persons at once increase the prices of everything they sell? Who are the first to profit by a blight, or a flood, but corn-factors, who immediately raise the price of the corn they have in stock, and that occasionally in a most cruel manner? But apart from all this, the octroi is, after all, a very light impost; and who profits by it? Why, every citizen, to be sure. In this lies the fundamental difference between ordinary taxation and the octroi. The former is for the benefit of the entire country, whereas the octroi is given for the immediate benefit of yourself, your relatives, and friends, and your fellow-citizens. Who profit by the broad, well-metalled roads, lighted and watered, by the suppression of cesspools and other abominations and the enforcement of cleanliness in every direction, by the gardens for recreation, laid out in the heart of your towns, and by the multitude of excellent arrangements made by the municipalities for the happiness and security of all persons within their jurisdiction. The towns-people themselves; they pay their money, a small sum only, for great comforts intended for their own enjoyment. Surely, my friend, the Baboo, and the traders who pay the octroi, as he says they do, do not wish the cultivators in the neighbouring villages, who, mark you, derive no benefit whatever from the octroi, to help them in bearing this light burden. They are not, I trust, so lacking in patriotism, not to speak of common honesty, as to request the poor ryot—as he is termed—to contribute something from his scanty means towards their enjoyments.

RAJAH KASHI NATH.—Mr. Courtney's observations are just. I have often thought it strange that my city friends should be so loth to contribute anything towards the public burdens, and even towards local improvements, which are for their own special benefit, while every one outside the city has for many generations borne his full share, and that with remarkable readiness, of such burdens. I think there must be something in the country air which produces a beneficent influence on the mind, while I fear the city air is heavy, and so dulls the perceptions. What say you, Baboo? Is it not so?

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—Your statements, if reversed, would be much more correct. For my part I hate the country. The people there are barbarians as compared with the inhabitants of cities, who are now being educated in the highest forms of human knowledge.

SIR JOHN.—And fine specimens of civilised humanity they make !

But after all, Courtney, you have not yet, in my judgment, hit the right nail on the head. The chief evils arising from the land-tax are neither the great sum annually drawn thereby from the people, nor the assumed unfairness of its amount, as compared with the revenue derived from other sources. These, at the best, are speculative evils, which may be, and are, defended by powerful, if not in all cases convincing, arguments. That the impost has not unfrequently been levied with unbending rigidity, with unfeeling harshness, and with an absence of sympathy for both land-owners and ryots in times of drought and scarcity, cannot be denied by any one who has given five minutes' thought to the matter. This is certainly one of the vulnerable points in the revenue system, which I have often brought to the notice of the Government in the various capacities in which I have been employed.

MR. COURTNEY.—I was coming on to speak of this and other collateral subjects ; but I am glad, Sir John, you have introduced it.

SIR JOHN.—I believe most of us who have had much to do with the collection of the revenue, have sometimes experienced a great conflict of feelings, arising from our sense of duty to the Government on the one hand, and our sympathy for the suffering people on the other. The former has needed money, and has been urgent for the revenue which it can claim by settlement, and by law ; while the latter, admitting the claim, have been totally unable to meet it. Their troubles have arisen, it may be, from various causes, some over which they have had no control, as sudden failure of rain, the ravages of locusts, floods, blights, and the like, and others for which they have been really responsible, such as, improvidence, recklessness, and an overweening confidence in the productiveness of the land. The Government, however, has ever been slow to perceive any distinction in these causes, and has been blind to all alike. And the worst of it is, that, the revenue having been exacted so stringently, recourse has been had to sharks of money-lenders, who have made the existing grievance ten times greater by the enormous interest they have charged. Thus, the wretched people have been plunged in a complication of troubles, out of which escape has been hopeless ; *first*, a drought or some other calamity, on account of which the land has yielded nothing for their support ; *secondly*, the revenue must be paid ; *thirdly*, the heavy debt, bearing from twelve to twenty-four per cent. interest and upwards, must be incurred. The meaning of all this is ruin.

Examples of the influence and results of this policy crowd upon the mind. Mr. C. A. Elliott, in his famine report, tells us that in Mysore, when famine had actually commenced, the peasants sold their bullocks, their stores of grain, their property of every kind, and finally their lands, in order to satisfy, not the cravings of nature, but the demands of Government. The same tale, though not so heart-rending, may be told of Jhansi, which suffered from prolonged drought in 1878-9, when, the revenue being exacted according to custom, the country was so crippled that to the present moment it has been unable to recover itself. It is stated on good authority, that, so fearful was the emigration of the frightened people, pursued by hunger and the tax-gatherer, that in a few months, I might say, in a few weeks, half a million of fugitives fled away, going they hardly knew whither. In Oudh and the North-Western Provinces districts have repeatedly been exposed to similar troubles, varying in intensity, and yet agreeing in this, that for the time being the soil yielded nothing, though the revenue was collected as usual.

MR. COURTNEY.—Yes, and the poverty of distressed communities, instead of exciting the commiseration of local officials, has demoralised them, because nothing was so likely to reduce their popularity and to lower their standing with the Government as to suggest a suspension or remission of taxation. Indeed, it was not always safe to report on the scarcity itself, and on the impoverished condition of the people. The determination of the higher authorities to hush up such matters, and to throw a veil over them, so that they might not come to the knowledge of the outer world, and above all, might not get into the newspapers, has sometimes amounted to an infatuation. I remember a notable instance in which the Commissioner of a province refused to credit the urgent statements of a Collector of one of his districts, who insisted that there was incipient famine in certain villages of his collectorate. The two quarrelled on the subject, and the Lieutenant-Governor himself visited the district in order to ascertain personally the truth of the allegation.

SIR JOHN.—I suppose the Commissioner wished to exhibit a clean bill of healthy prosperity existing throughout his entire Division, and was vexed and irritated that he could not do so.

MR. COURTNEY.—He was.

SIR JOHN.—I have known such cases. I sympathise with the Commissioner, but do not exonerate him.

RAJAH KASHI NATH.—I wish to ask, Sir John, what your views are of the recent additional imposts which, in reality, are levied on the land. I refer to the ten per cent. Cess, and to the

Famine Insurance tax, so far as the zemindars are called upon to pay it?

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—The most unjust of all the unjust taxes levied upon our fellow-countrymen.

SIR JOHN.—Stop a bit. You speak as if it were possible to carry on the Government of the country without money. Education costs money. Roads and other local improvements cost money. Famines cost money. Everything done for the welfare of the people costs money. Let me ask my friend, who speaks in such unmeasured terms of the injustice of the famine insurance tax, whether he can put his finger on any act of pure generosity performed in former times by Mahomedan and Hindu rulers of India for the sole and absolute benefit of the people.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—There may have been many, only our history does not record them.

SIR JOHN.—Your history! Fiddlesticks! You have no written history worth the name. Mahomedans have had their historians; but all the history ever penned by Hindus is, as you well know, a mockery and a snare. It is the British rulers of India, and only they, who have ever thought of feeding the hungry and starving. Look at the gigantic efforts they put forth recently to mitigate the horrors of starvation in Southern India, and in the time of Lord Northbrook to prevent it from desolating Tirhoot. And I challenge you to show any paternal sympathy and kindness like this among the scores of Great Moguls, kings, and rajahs, who once exercised rule over the land. Now, the British Government, in the same spirit of benevolence, is anxious to make permanent provision for scarcity and famines in the future. Hence the tax which has this object. Would the Baboo prefer to keep his money, and leave the people to starve, as in the barbaric ages of the past?

BABOO.—No, I would not. You misunderstand me.

SIR JOHN.—I neither misunderstand nor misrepresent you. With all your education and assumed liberalism, yourself and all your class would like to have a character for high-mindedness, animated by the purest motives for the welfare of your country; but you would not spend a pice to advance that welfare, if you could help it.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—I say you grievously misunderstand me.

RAJAH KASHI NATH.—Sir John, in his zeal, speaks more strongly than he means.

MR. COURTNEY.—I fear we have wandered from the question. Let me recall all of you to the topics just now started by the Rajah. They are of much interest and importance. The ques-

tion is simply that of the necessity of increased taxation for general and local purposes. Now, at the outset, I know my native friends will at once affirm that this necessity is a fiction, and that all that is needed, is to diminish expenditure. Is it not so?

RAJAH KASHI NATH.—Such I acknowledge to be my views.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—And mine too, only I would have stated the matter more strongly. This itching desire to augment the national burden on the part of the Government, is a frightful evil.

SIR JOHN.—And yet you Bengalees are perpetually preaching the gospel of progress, as if you understood it better than other people, and could carry out your views without money. Progress means expenditure, if it means anything at all.

MR. COURTNEY.—I must say that I sympathise strongly in the desire for retrenchment, and believe that if it were rightly effected, most of our difficulties would be removed. However, that is not the point. We are living under a Government which spends. Although I may dissent from some of the principles on which it proceeds, I believe in the honesty of its intentions. Additional money must be had for its various projects. The real question, then, for consideration is, from what sources should such increased revenue be obtained? My chief objection to the ten per cent. cess, and similar imposts, is that they so largely fall on the land. And the reasons for my objection are threefold. First, the land was already sufficiently taxed. Secondly, the commercial classes paid almost nothing towards the revenue of the country, and yet benefited from the new imposts on land. Thirdly, it shows that either the Government felt itself unable to impose such taxes elsewhere, or from reasons of its own shrank from doing so, or that it lacked the power of invention as to how the money should be raised, and so did what seemed easiest: saddled the agricultural interests with the imposts.

SIR JOHN.—That is ingenious. The Government is not usually chargeable with a feebleness of the inventive faculty when it has made up its mind to increase its revenues. Yet, surely, you have not forgotten that the License Tax is intended to reach the commercial classes.

MR. COURTNEY.—It reaches them, I contend, very inadequately. They are vexed and irritated by it, I know, as they would be by any kind of direct taxation, for the simple reason that, unlike the landowners, they are unaccustomed to a direct impost.

SIR JOHN.—And, you may add, are inimical to every form of taxation.

MR. COURTNEY.—I should be sorry to add this to my statement.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—It is a strong imputation on the great body of Native traders.

MR. COURTNEY.—I wish to ask you, Sir John, whether you have seriously pondered over the License Tax; for, if you have you must have perceived that it is a covert tax on incomes.

SIR JOHN.—I am well aware of that, and hence its justness, and equity, for it is only right that the richer classes should contribute more than the poorer.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—But the poor tradesmen have had to pay it, however.

SIR JOHN.—Yes, and that, in my judgment, constituted the chief objection to the tax. Yet, this difficulty has lately been removed, you know.

MR. COURTNEY.—I repeat that the License Tax is an Income Tax in another form. This obnoxious impost was abolished by Lord Northbrook, who made himself very popular, for the time being, by its repeal. I then agreed with his lordship. But I have come to think otherwise.

SIR JOHN.—Would you re-impose it? A pretty hornet's nest you would stir up in so doing.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—And you would lose all your popularity, which you have so justly acquired among natives of all ranks.

MR. COURTNEY.—I am not seeking popularity. Consider the matter carefully. I hold that it is unfair to increase the taxation of the agricultural classes by a single pice. If the revenue must be increased, the additional taxation should fall on the commercial classes. And how is this to be attained, but by a tax on incomes?

SIR JOHN.—I must say you show great hardihood in making the proposal. A tax on incomes is just and fair, but Hindoos utterly abhor it.

MR. COURTNEY.—Hindoos abhor the mode in which it was collected, rather than the impost itself.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—You are mistaken. Hindoos detest the Income Tax, and will never be reconciled to it.

MR. COURTNEY.—Pardon me, if I say that Hindoos would not object to the tax if it were properly levied, that is, without giving them offence. They are not an unreasonable people, or, at all events, not more so than other nations. They know well that money must be raised for Government purposes; and they are willing to pay the demands made upon them, provided they are not exorbitant. That a man should pay taxes according to his income, is a proposition, of which all thoughtful Hindoos see the justice and

propriety. What they strongly object to, is the system of espionage sanctioned and carried out during the years the Income Tax was levied. This system must be utterly abandoned if the tax should ever be re-imposed. I would suggest that, in place of rating individuals, a whole district should be rated at a certain definite sum, and for this purpose, the entire country might be divided into a large number of small districts. A city with its suburbs would be sufficiently large to form a separate district. I would intrust the actual working of the scheme to a committee of respectable natives in every district, nominated by the Government, and under the immediate direction of the Collector. The committee might have authority to adopt its own method of assessing the inhabitants and collecting the tax; and you may rest satisfied that they would take great care to prevent all that officious prying into other men's affairs, which was so offensive before. The Panchayet system, in my judgment, is an admirable institution for effecting the object intended. The people are accustomed to it, and like it, and adopt it in all social and caste difficulties. Some plan of this nature I believe to be feasible; and if introduced, it would deprive the tax of its sting.

SIR JOHN.—What do you say to this, Rajah Saheb?

RAJAH KASHI NATH.—It is a novel idea. As it has been suddenly propounded, I am unable to give off-hand an opinion upon it; but at present, I perceive no objection to it.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—I suspect the Rajah is hardly able to give an unbiassed opinion upon its real merits; as it would be to the interest of himself and his class, relieving them, it might be, of some of their burdens, if a tax of this nature were imposed.

MR. COURTNEY.—I foresee, that, if through wars, famines, or other circumstances, the national expenditure continue to increase, an income tax will be a necessity; and already it seems to my mind looming in the distance. Even now, as I said before, we have it in disguise in the License Tax; but, depend upon it, we shall have the Income Tax again without any disguise at all.

In this discussion, it is well to remember, that the zemindars generally bear a grudge against the Government for, as they allege, breaking faith with them.

SIR JOHN.—Indeed! How does that appear?

MR. COURTNEY.—Some parts of the country, as you know, are under a permanent settlement, while others are settled for terms of years; yet, under both systems, if you impose a further cess, or tax, leviable directly or indirectly on the land or its productions, how can you escape from the charge referred to?

SIR JOHN.—I do escape from it, nevertheless, for the simple

reason, that the emergencies of a Government are not stereotyped, and often cannot be predicted; and I fail to see that, because a settlement of some character has been made by the Government with certain members of the general community styled landholders, they are not, therefore, to take their due share of Government liabilities, which have been incurred in advancing their welfare.

RAJAH KASHI NATH.—Speaking for my own class, we are quite ready to take our due share of such liabilities, implying, of course, additional burdens. But why demand of us more than our fair share? I entreat you to ponder very seriously the impoverishment coming over the agricultural interest in many places, as a result of the system the Government is pursuing. In spite of the obstacles to the transfer of land, it is changing hands in an unprecedented degree. Mortgages, too, have greatly increased, which is our method of defeating the new Civil Code in regard to the sale of lands, for many of those mortgages after a term become absolute. In the North-West Provinces alone, the increase of private sales and mortgages, in the last revenue year, was more than eight thousand on the previous year.

SIR JOHN.—Mortgages are not noticed at the time they are made. Hence, they are an insidious source of evil. It is difficult to legislate satisfactorily on them, and, in fact, on the differences existing between debtor and creditor. The one is apt to forget, if not to repudiate, his obligations. The other is prone to harshness and severity. So they often become enemies, and a compromise between them is seldom satisfactory. There is one point which has struck me forcibly, relating to expenditure. Landholders of every grade are an improvident race. Most of them live up to their incomes, and lay by nothing against a rainy day. This is sheer folly. In a year of plenty, there is general rejoicing, as there should be. But how few think for a moment of the future! Many do not even pay their debts. And thus, when a year of scarcity comes, they are in beggary again.

I contend, that India, on the whole, is at least as well off as England, on the whole.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—What, with myriads of poor people swarming over the country in every direction? Unriddle me this riddle, please.

SIR JOHN.—I have seen more abject poverty in Ireland and also in England than I have seen in India, excepting, of course, famine-stricken provinces. In ordinary times, I affirm, there is very little extreme poverty in India. The clothing of the people is scanty, on account of the heat; their food is simple, and costs little. It is true, their earnings are very small as compared with the earnings

of the working classes in England. But their food is extremely cheap, house-rent is at the rate of six-pence or eight-pence a month, furniture is of the barest character, and, in short, three or four rupees a month will, among field-labourers, and the like, go as far as fifty or sixty shillings a month, among agriculturists and people of the same class at home. I am speaking of Northern India. Look at the taxation of the North-Western Provinces, and compare it with the taxation of England. The population of these Provinces is equal to, perhaps, a little above, that of the United Kingdom, and the taxation amounts in round numbers to about £5,000,000, or less than a fifteenth part of the taxes imposed on the inhabitants of the British Isles. You must all acknowledge, I think, that the burden on the people here is comparatively light.

MR. COURTNEY.—I wish you had completed your statistics. Of these five millions of taxes the land produces directly, nearly four millions, without reckoning the ten per cent. cess of forty-two lakhs, and the Famine Insurance Tax of twenty more, part of which may be said to fall on the land, leaving less than forty lakhs as the product of all other taxes of every description. This is the great anomaly of unequal taxation, to which I so strongly object.

SIR JOHN.—Well, well, we have already discussed that point, and I concur very much in what you say. Now, what are your plans for preventing the mortgage and sale of lands in times of drought and scarcity, and yet maintaining the claims of the Government? How do you propose to help the agriculturist in his troubles, so that he fall not into the hands of the money-lender, without loss accruing to the revenue?

MR. COURTNEY.—My propositions may be expressed in two words : prudence and patience. There should be a careful, and, if I may so express it, paternal oversight of the interests of the agriculturist, with the *bonâ fide* aim of defending him from wrong, and helping him as he needs help. Years of plenty, are, thank God ! much more frequent than years of scarcity. If a farmer, in times of prosperity, will not voluntarily lay by something against a bad season, the Government should take him under its wing, and teach him by wholesome discipline how to dispose of his money.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—Would you take from him his money and prevent him from using it as he pleases? This would be vassalage, a state worse than his present condition.

MR. COURTNEY.—If he is so improvident and childishly foolish as to spend all his year's income, however much it may be, without the slightest consideration of the future, and of the fickleness of fortune, he should be taught the lesson of prudence. If the Government must not so far restrain his liberty as to compel him to

lay up money against a year of scarcity, it can, at all events, legitimately call upon him to pay the expense the Government has incurred in its generous endeavour to prevent him from ruining himself and his family, and to keep them from starvation. When adverse times come, the Government, through the agency of the local authorities, who should be on the watch for such cases, might render assistance in case of drought, floods, visitation of locusts, and so forth, and not merely be ready to remit the revenue promptly, but also to afford substantial help in advancing money for seed, and for other necessary expenses in tilling the soil after the visitation of such calamities.

SIR JOHN.—That is a benevolent view of the subject, which, if carried out, would, I acknowledge, redound greatly to the honour of our rulers. But how are they to be recouped? Surely, you do not mean to make a bountiful present to the agriculturist on all such occasions, for that would not only injure him morally, but would make him indolent and still more improvident.

MR. COURTNEY.—Here comes my second point—patience. Plenty succeeds drought and desolation, as certainly as day succeeds night. I would not give a pice away absolutely. It should all be lent on low interest, for a period to be settled according to the necessities of each case, and to be repaid by instalments together with interest at intervals convenient to the recipient.

SIR JOHN.—Take my word for it, he would not pay a rupee if he could possibly help it, and would adopt all kinds of excuses and subterfuges to escape from payment altogether.

MR. COURTNEY.—I know it very well. But he must not be left to his own pleasure in the matter. The Government must have a certain control over his income, in return for its generosity in helping him, so as not to leave it to his option, in the slightest degree, whether to pay or not to pay. By exercising this control, it would soon be evident how far the land could repay the arrears of revenue within the allotted time. You see, I anticipate the question. I perceive you are about to put—what is to be done with defaulters? According to my plan, there would be no defaulters. I would suggest such a supervision and control over the lands, that the instalment of arrears due should not first of all go into the pockets of the farmer, and thence into the Government Treasury, but should go direct to the Treasury, just as the residue of the profits should go direct to the farmer himself.

SIR JOHN.—Plausible enough! but would the scheme work? I have understood from men able to judge, that a ryot would sooner borrow money from a soucar at twelve or fifteen per cent.

interest, than from the Government at five, for this reason, that the soucar does not care when he gets his capital back, and, in fact, would rather not have it back at all, whereas, the Government demands the return of money lent within a prescribed time, and threatens the vengeance of the law on procrastinators.

THE RAJAH.—Sir John is perfectly correct. In the one case the ryot need never pay back the money borrowed, and in the other, he is compelled to do so. Of course, he prefers the former condition to the latter, for he is heedless of consequences, and reckless of the future.

MR. COURTNEY.—Hence, he needs the effectual restraint, I propose. I look upon the agriculturists of this country, landlords and cultivators alike, as thoughtless and foolish children, needing paternal authority. They would not like the scheme, I daresay, nor would I consult them upon it. This may seem hard, but their eyes are so blinded that they would be the very worst judges of what was best for their own interests.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—I always thought, Mr. Courtney, you were one of the truest friends of the natives of India ever had. Yet, how is this consistent with these strong measures, which would destroy the liberty of a large body of the people?

MR. COURTNEY.—I am quite consistent with my professions in the course I suggest. You are right in your conjecture that I cherish sincere love and friendship for the people of India; and it is because of this that I wish their welfare.

This scheme has three aspects, first of all, the prompt remission, or, more properly, suspension, of the revenue, while the land remains desolate, and the farmer can produce nothing from it. I use the word 'prompt,' because, during recent famines, terrible and ruinous consequences have arisen from long delay in procuring the necessary sanction from the Government for a remission of revenue. Secondly, the scheme proposes to give some amount of pecuniary assistance, so far as the farmer may require it for the re-cultivation of his lands. If he has no money to begin operations with, he must either do nothing, or go to the money-lender, a step by every means to be avoided. Thirdly, the Government should exercise a certain amount of control over the cultivation of the lands concerned, so as to secure the eventual payment of revenue deferred.

SIR JOHN.—Are you aware that the Government has a scheme of its own on this question?

MR. COURTNEY.—No, I was not aware of it. I am glad, however, to hear, that at last the Government is taking up the matter in earnest.

SIR JOHN.—I have brought a copy of the rough draft in my pocket. As I supposed you had your own ideas to propound, I waited until you had stated them, in order that you might not be in any way fettered in doing so.

MR. COURTNEY.—You were very considerate, I must say. But now, kindly produce the draft.

SIR JOHN.—It has been drawn up by Mr. Justice Cunningham for the consideration of the Famine Commission. I suppose that means that the Famine Commission will unitedly or separately give their views upon it; for, if the scheme becomes law, it will become law because it was passed by the Legislative Council of India, and not because the Famine Commission ‘considered’ it. It must, therefore, be discussed in Council after the sentiments of the commissioners have been ascertained. The Bill is laudably brief. It has six sections, the first of which says, that it is to “apply to any district or portion of a district, or class of landowners, to which the local Government, with the consent of the Governor-General in Council, shall declare it to be applicable.”

MR. COURTNEY.—It is then to apply, not to individuals, but to classes. One Zemindar, or half-a-dozen, for the matter of that, who might be exposed to some sudden calamity, might possibly not come within the scope and bearing of the Act. A flood, or a sudden fall of hail, might ruin a man’s crops for a season, and if he lived from hand to mouth, as many do, he would, as before, get no relief, unless through the money-lender.

SIR JOHN.—A class of landowners might mean half-a-dozen or less.

MR. COURTNEY.—Truly, but they would be treated not as individuals, but as a class. Moreover, mark how the old bureaucratic influence will hamper the application of the Act practically. Neither the Collector of a district, nor the Commissioner of a Province, will have any authority in the matter. It must of course come before each in succession, and then be laid before the local Government, and with its consent be presented to the Governor-General in Council. Here is the Circumlocution Office coming into play, which will be fatal to prompt relief, of all things most urgently required in cases of emergency.

SIR JOHN.—Listen to the second clause :—“The total revenue, due in respect of a holding, to which the Act has been declared applicable for a period of years, shall be thrown into a lump sum. Such sum shall be considered as ordinarily payable in twenty half-yearly instalments; and the chief revenue authority of the province may, with the previous consent of the local Government, from time to time declare, with reference to the crops and seasons

in any locality, that payment of any such instalment or part thereof, which is about to become due, shall be deferred, or that any future instalment, or part thereof, which is about to become due, shall be deferred, or that any future instalment, although not due, shall be paid on a date to be fixed." You must admit, I think, that the manifest intention of the section is to render hearty help to those who may need it.

MR. COURTNEY.—I do ; the intention is excellent. The scheme, moreover, is ingenious, and has some good points in it. The object is plainly to assist the landowner to tide over a prolonged season of drought or any other calamity affecting his lands.

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—It would be kinder if in such cases the Government were entirely to remit the revenue.

SIR JOHN.—By which you mean, I suppose, that the Government should be the chief loser in times of adversity, and the farmer, the chief gainer in times of prosperity. That is a one-sided view of the case.

MR. COURTNEY.—To spread over ten years the payment of a lump sum by half-yearly instalments, the payment of which may be deferred by consent of the local Government, may be generous, but seems to me unnecessary. The plan is capricious, for it is very probable that half that time, less or more, would be amply sufficient for the landowner to pay up the deferred revenue. It would be far better to ascertain, with as much exactness as possible, the nature and extent of the calamity which has occurred, and the amount of relief required. A drought may only continue one year, or may be prolonged to two or even three years ; and the measures of relief in the interest of the persons concerned, should meet the emergency. Droughts and floods cannot be regulated by a Legislative Act.

Moreover, in the second half of the clause, I am again reminded of the Circumlocution Office. The Act having, by the first section, been declared applicable to a distinct class of landowners by the local Government and the Governor-General in Council, the consent of the local Government is, in addition, by this second section, needed before the payment of revenue can be deferred. As already remarked, relief speedily given, in seasons of threatened starvation, is often of the first importance.

SIR JOHN.—This I grant. But it does not appear to me clear that your animadversions on the circuitousness of the method in imparting relief, are altogether just. The intention of the Government, I am quite sure, is to give relief wherever and whenever it may be required.

MR. COURTNEY.—Undoubtedly it is. In times when pressure

is strong upon Government officials, a few days will accomplish everything desired. Nevertheless, you know well enough how slowly some officials move; and when a matter of importance has to pass through several offices, especially if the heads of them are in very high position, the chances of delay will be great.

SIR JOHN.—The third section states that the Government will charge $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on deferred revenue, and is ready to pay the same for revenue paid before it is due.

MR. COURTNEY.—All this is very liberal. But do you anticipate that any zemindars will be far-sighted enough to pay the revenue before it is due?

THE RAJAH.—I think some will do so. At all events, it is well to make the experiment. I am free to acknowledge that we all need to learn the lesson of thrift. These proposals are liberal, and will, I trust, be well received by my countrymen.

SIR JOHN.—The fourth section states that a revenue pass-book will be given to the landowner, the insertion in which will be a counterpart of the revenue account kept by the Tahsildar.

MR. COURTNEY.—That is an excellent arrangement. It will secure the correctness of accounts rendered, and will also, I trust, check to some extent the bribery practised by native officials engaged in the collection of the revenue.

RAJAH KASHI NATH.—You are right; yet, I assure you that it will be a most difficult matter altogether to prevent bribery and corruption. Bribery is a subtle agent, an unseen power, which you Europeans do not understand. Often, when you suppose it to be dying or dead, it is full of vitality, and flourishing in all its vigour.

SIR JOHN.—By the fifth section provision is made for deferring the payment of rent in all cases, in which the collection of the revenue has been deferred. Such deferred rent will be subject to an interest of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum.

MR. COURTNEY.—That is very important, and will afford great relief.

SIR JOHN.—That last section provides for a renewal, in whole or in part, of the arrangement stated in the second section, whenever it may be necessary.

MR. COURTNEY.—Which proves the fanciful and tentative nature of the ten-year scheme, payable in twenty half-yearly instalments. As I have already stated, I see no use whatever in either the Government or the parties themselves being fettered by such a contract. For how long a period the revenue should be suspended, should be left to the occasion itself, and is a matter which no antecedent legislation can by any possibility rightly settle

On the whole, the scheme is conceived in a liberal spirit, although I should like to see it modified in several important particulars.

SIR JOHN.—The sections are followed by what are termed ‘objects and reasons,’ in three sections, which are, however, concisely stated in the preamble, which runs as follows:—“Whereas, the unvarying collection of the land revenue, irrespective of the character of the season, has been on various occasions productive of hardship and agricultural indebtedness—it is enacted.”

MR. COURTNEY.—Much of our long discussion has been on these very topics, and there is no doubt of the sad truth of the allegations; yet, Baboo, what do you say to the curious phraseology, ‘agricultural indebtedness?’ Why not also ‘agricultural hardship’? Can you tell me what the former means?

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—It is doubtful. The phrase may mean the indebtedness of agriculture or the indebtedness of the agriculturist; but the grammatical meaning is that indebtedness is agricultural.

MR. COURTNEY.—And the word ‘hardship,’ to whom or to what does it apply?

BABOO RAM CHARAN.—Grammatically, as it stands, it applies to nothing and to nobody. The use of the word implies, however, that certain persons have been exposed to hardships, to whom, or to persons similarly situated, the sections following the preamble apply.

SIR JOHN.—This is mere trifling. Mr. Justice Canningham, being an Englishman, is of course ignorant of the idioms of his mother-tongue. I suppose he needs to take an Indian degree for the completion of his education, and might sit with advantage, perhaps, at the feet of the learned Baboo in the Presidency College for a few terms.

M. A. SHERRING.

ART II.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPANISHADS. PART IV.

THE former articles of this series have exhibited that conception of the totality of things which constitutes the philosophy of the Upanishads, and have pointed out that the tenet of the unreality of the world forms part of that conception, that the doctrine of *Māyā* is an indispensable constituent of primitive Indian philosophy. It is the purpose of the present article to mark the relation of this philosophy to certain other doctrines, to the Buddhist tenet of nihilism and sensationalism, *Sūnyavāda* and *Vijnānavāda*, and to the Sāṅkhya position of the reality of the world and the emanation of the world out of a real principium, *Pradhānavāda*.

As has been said already, in the absence of historical data all that can be done towards a methodical exposition of Indian philosophy, is to examine the succession of theses and antitheses that make up its process. The primitive thesis is plainly that of the Upanishads, that is, the sole reality of the impersonal Self and the fictitious nature of the personal soul and of the object world. There is thus an assured starting-point from which to ascend the series of positions and counter-positions that form the successive stages of Indian speculation. The order of these stages can only be inferred from the nature of the constituent ideas. The chronological development can only be inferred from the logical development. The results will be precarious, it is true, but they will be the best that can be got at. If certitudes are not forthcoming, we must rest satisfied with probabilities. As Aristotle says, in every inquiry we must be contented with the amount of accuracy that the object-matter will admit of.

The primitive thesis, the starting-point of the process, then, is, that one thing only is, the impersonal Self; that personal souls are one with the Demiurgus or creative spirit, and the Demiurgus one with the impersonal Self; that all the experiences of daily life, the things of metempsychosis, are unreal, and cease for ever on the rise of real knowledge. Any given personal soul is nothing else than the one impersonal Self illusively attached to an intellect and organism. The impersonal Self is to the personal souls as the one sun reflected on countless pools, the one ether permeating, and, in semblance, lodged in, innumerable water-jars. "That which abides within all creatures, which all creatures know not, of which all creatures are the body, which actuates all creatures from within; that is the Self, the internal ruler, immortal. That which abides

within the consciousness, which the consciousness knows not, of which the consciousness is the body, which actuates the consciousness from within; that is the Self, the internal ruler, immortal. That which sees unseen, hears unheard, thinks unthought-upon, knows unknown, that than which there is no other that sees, no other that hears, no other that thinks, no other that knows; that is the Self, the internal ruler, immortal."

The earliest antithesis is, that there is no such impersonal Self, and that things have emanated not out of entity, but out of nonentity. This antithesis is as old as the Upanishads. It appears in a celebrated passage of the Chhândogya Upanishad: "Existent only, fair son, was this in the beginning, one only, without duality. Some indeed have said: Non-existent only was this in the beginning, and from that non-existent the existent proceeded. But how, I pray, should this be so? How could the existent proceed out of the non-existent? Existent only, then, was this in the beginning, one only, without duality." This is the Buddhist antithesis to the Brahmanical thesis. *Asadvāda*, *S'ūnyavāda*, the doctrine of ultimate unreality, the non-recognition of an absolute anything, the doctrine of the blank or void, is set up in opposition to *Brahmavāda*, the doctrine that all things emanate from, are unreally superposed upon, the impersonal Self, "the great and creative Self, rooted in absolute reality."

The doctrine of the origin of things out of nonentity is stated, and controverted by Sankarāchārya in the Sārīrakāmimāṃsābhāṣya (II. 2-26.) "The Buddhists try to prove that the existent proceeds out of the non-existent according to the formula that there is no manifestation of an effect without the suppression of the cause. Thus, it is only from a seed that has ceased to exist that the plant begins to germinate; only from milk that has ceased to exist that curds are produced; only from a piece of clay that has ceased to exist that a pot is made by the potter. If, they say, things emanated from an imperishable principle, such as the impersonal Self, everything would emanate alike from everything, there being no particularity, no limits to the power of such a principle. The plant and the rest proceed out of the already non-existent seed and the rest. Entity, therefore, proceeds out of nonentity, so they hold. The reply is that entity cannot emanate from nonentity. It is senseless to suppose that there are particular causes to produce particular effects, if all causes are alike nonentities. Let the supposed seed and the rest be nonentities, and let chimerical things, such as the horns of a hare, be nonentities, there will be no difference between the whole set of

these nonentities, they being all characterless alike. Then, the hypothesis that there are particular causes of particular effects, plant from seed and seed only, curds from milk and milk only, and so forth, will be null. If characterless nonentities are to be supposed to be the causes of things, the plants and the rest may emanate from hares' horns and similar nonentities. But they do not emanate from them. If, again, you suppose one nonentity to differ from another, as one lotus differs from another, as a blue lotus from a red and a white, it will follow that nonentities, as having differences amongst themselves, must be entities, just as much as the several lotuses are entities. A nonentity cannot give birth to anything, simply because it is a nonentity, as the horns of a hare and the like, produce nothing, being nothing. If entity arose from nonentity, every effect thus proceeding would be itself nonentitative, but this is not the case, inasmuch as everything is seen to be existent in its own particular mode of existence. No one supposes such entities as the pots that are made of clay and retain the nature of clay to be produced as pieces of cloth are produced, out of threads. Everyone knows that things retaining the nature of clay have been formed from clay and nothing else than clay. As for the statement that no permanent entity can become the cause of anything unless it first suppress its own proper nature, and that, therefore, entity proceeds out of nonentity,—this is a false proposition, for we see that it is only things recognised as having a permanent existence, such as gold, that can be the causes of things, as of bracelets and the like. When a seed or the like is seen to lose its proper nature, the potentiality of the plant that resided in the seed has been suppressed and is no longer acknowledged to be the origin of any actual plant: It is only those elements of the seed that have not been suppressed, but which continue to exist, that are recognised to be the origin of the plant. Thus, then, as we see that entity does not proceed out of nonentity, as out of non-existent hares' horns and the like, and that entity does proceed out of entity, as bracelets out of existing materials, such as gold, the doctrine of the emanation of entity out of nonentity is inadmissible."

According, then, to the Buddhist doctrine of the ultimate blank or void, things proceed out of nothing, there is no such fontal reality as the impersonal Self. The personal soul is not an illusive manifestation of this impersonal Self, but is nothing else than that intelligence, *Buddhi*, which the Vedāntins proclaim to be the illusory, individualising, adjunct of the Self. The underlying reality has been refused, there remains nothing but the superposed unreality, the unreal adjuncts, the *Upādhi*. The personal soul is

only a succession of fleeting impressions and ideas. Objects of sense are nothing but fleeting sensations, momentarily replacing one another. This is the doctrine of sensationalism, *Vijnānavāda*. The doctrine is stated and redargued at some length by Sankarāchārya in the *Sārīrakamīmāṃsābhāṣya* (II. 2. 28). "On this doctrine of sensationalism, the whole order of things, of cognitions, and of things cognisable, is accounted for as an internal order, as a form imposed upon the intelligence or personal transmigrating sentiency. Even, if there were external objects, they say, the distinction of cognitions, things cognisable, and so forth, would be impossible unless such distinction were imposed on the intelligence. It will be asked, they continue, how we know that all this distinction is merely internal, and that there are no external objects ulterior to the cognitions. To this, be it replied, that we know it, because such external things are impossible. For the external objects, you suppose, are either atoms or masses made up of atoms, such as posts, pillars, and the like. Now atoms cannot be presented in cognition as posts, and so forth, for there is no presentative consciousness of atoms. Nor can masses of atoms be presented as posts, and the like, for these masses cannot be described as either the same as, or other than, the constituent atoms. And for a similar reason, the external objects, you suppose, cannot be universals, qualities, or actions. Now the distinction of object from object, in all experience, the cognition of a post, a wall, a water-pot, a piece of cloth, cannot be accounted for without supposing a difference within the several cognitions themselves, and you will therefore have to admit that the cognitions are conformed to the objects. But as soon as you admit that, the hypothesis of the existence of external things will become superfluous, for the forms of the objects are given in the cognitions themselves. Further, as the cognitions and the *cognita* are invariably presented simultaneously, the cognitions and the *cognita* are inseparable, for if either one of them be not presented, the other will not be presented. But this would not be so if the object and the cognition existed apart from one another in the nature of things, for in that case, there would be nothing to prevent the presentation of one apart from the other. There are, therefore, no external things. The nature of external perception is similar to the nature of a dream. The presentations of posts, and the like, in the waking state take place without any external objects, under the relation of subject and object, in the same way, as the presentations in the dreaming state, in optical illusions, such as the waters of a mirage, in reveries and similar states. In both kinds of states, the presentations are of the same nature. If, the sensualists further contend, you

ask us how the diversity of presentations is to be accounted for in the absence of the external things that produce such diversity; we reply that this diversity is accounted for by the diversity of ideal residues of former presentations. There has been no beginning to the world, and impressions or presentations and ideas have reproduced each other as seeds have reproduced plants, and plants have reproduced seeds, *ab infinito*. Thus, there is no difficulty as regards the variety of presentations. It can be proved, they say, by positive and by negative generalisation, that the variety in our cognitions is produced by the residuary ideas. You, no less than we, they say, admit that the variety of the cognitions in dreams and reveries is produced by the residuary ideas, or images of the phantasy, in the absence of all outward objects. We do not admit any variety in the cognitions to be generated by outward things apart from those ideas or images. Thus, then, they say, there exist no external things.

"To this we Vedantins reply that external things *do* exist. Their non-existence is inadmissible. And, why? Because we are *conscious* that they exist. In every perception, an external thing is presented to consciousness, be it post, or wall, or jar, or cloth, and that of which we are thus conscious, cannot but exist. Why should we listen to a man that says that he is not conscious of the outward thing, and that no such thing exists, at the very moment that the outward thing is itself presented to him by his senses,—any more than we should listen to a man who says that in the very moment that he is eating, and is conscious of the pleasure of eating, that he does not eat, and that he has no pleasure? Perhaps you will assert that you do not say that you are not conscious of any outward object, but that you say that you are not conscious of any object external to your perceptive consciousness. Well, then, if you say that, you say it in the plenitude of your self-conceit, you say nothing provable. *Nolens volens* you have got to admit that the object is exterior to the perception, inasmuch as you are *conscious* that it is. No one is conscious of his perception as post or wall, but every commonplace person is conscious of the post and the wall as the *objects* of his perception. It is thus that all ordinary people perceive things, they perceive them as external things; whereas, the sensationalists deny this and say that the percept is internal and only appears to be external. Conscious all the while of this knowledge that presents itself as external, and which all mankind pronounce to be external, they want to deny what they are conscious of, and say that the external thing is *apparently* external. If they were not conscious of the externality of the things perceived, how could they pick up their phrase *apparently external*? No one, says

Vishnumittra looks like the son of a childless mother. If, therefore, we are to accept the facts that consciousness reveals, we must admit that things are presented as external, not merely that they appear to be external. If you rejoin that objects are perceived as if external, not as external, external things being impossible, we reply that this position is untenable, for the possibility and impossibility of things are ascertained by the exercise of the several faculties of knowledge, but these faculties are not to be exercised according to any presupposed possibility or impossibility in the nature of things. Anything is possible that is cognised by perception or any other of the cognitive faculties. A thing is impossible if it is not cognised by any one of the faculties. How can it be affirmed that external objects are impossible, on the strength of difficulties raised by positive and negative generalisations, and so forth, if external things are all the while posited by all the faculties?

“Again, if cognitions have the same form as their objects, it does not follow that there are no external objects. Rather, if there were no objects, the cognitions could not have the same forms as their objects; and there is an external perception of those objects.

“Further, the invariable simultaneity of the cognitions and the *cognita* proves, not that they are inseparable or identical, but that the *cognita* are the causes of the cognitions. And, again, there is a cognition of a jar, and a cognition of a piece of cloth. Here the difference resides not in the cognitions, but in the *cognita*, in the jar and in the cloth, just as there are white cows and black cows, but the difference between them lies not in their being cows, but in their whiteness and their blackness.

“If you say that the thing known is the perception, we reply, that you should rather say that the thing known is the external object. If you urge that the perception is luminous, like a lamp, and thus, is able to present itself to consciousness, and that the external thing is not luminous, and therefore not able to present itself to consciousness, we reply that you propose an exceedingly absurd operancy of the perception upon itself, the perception illuminating itself, as if you said that fire burnt itself, whereas, there is no difficulty in the common doctrine that the external thing is presented to consciousness by something different from itself, *viz:* by the perception.

“It is said by those that deny an external world that the perceptions of posts, and the like, in the waking state arise without any outward object, like the presentments of a dream, the perceptions in both states being presentations of the same kind. This we deny. There is a distinction between the perceptions of the

waking state, and the presentments of a dream, in that the former are not negated or sublated, and the latter are. A man on waking out of sleep, denies the reality of what he saw in his dream. He may say, for example, that he had a false cognition of an interview with a great man, that there was, in fact, no such interview, but that his thinking faculty was torpid with slumber, and that it was thus that the illusion arose. Spectral illusions, reveries, and the like, are in like manner, negated. But the thing perceived in the waking state, the post, or the like, is not sublated in any later state of mind. The visions of a dream are an act of the representative faculty ; the experiences of the waking state are perceptual. The difference between perception and reproduction is self-evident. In perception, the thing is present, in recollection it is absent."

S'ankarāchārya's mode of dealing with the Vijnānavādin Buddhists will at times have reminded the reader of the manner in which the philosophers of the Scottish school endeavour to supersede the sensationalism of Hume and his successors. It is in the main, an appeal to common sense, to the spontaneous and irresistible verdicts of the human race. In the philosophy of the Upanishads, the personal soul and the environment of objects through which the personal soul has to pass, are equally real from the standpoint of every-day consciousness, *laukikavyavahāra*. They are equally unreal from the standpoint of metaphysical truth, *paramārthatah*. So long as a man is engaged in what goes on in ordinary life, the things around him are real enough for him. This is another proof how false the assertion of Vijnānabhikṣu is, that the Vedāntins teach that the world is a sheer nonentity, *tuchchhamātra*. As the *S'ūnyavāda*, or doctrine of the void, or blank, is the Buddhist antithesis to the *Brahmavāda*, or thesis of the impersonal Self of the Brahmanical philosophers, the *Vijnānavāda*, or doctrine of sensationalism, appears to be the Buddhist antithesis to the *Māyāvāda*, or thesis of illusion of the Brahmanical philosophers. In the development of thought in India, the philosophy of the Upanishads is primitive, the original position, and the philosophy of the Buddhists appears to be the earliest effort to replace it by a counter-position.

Judging the succession of the Indian systems of philosophy by the notions of which they are made up, and there is no other means of judging it, the next system will be that of the Sāṅkhyas. In this system, in evident opposition to the Buddhists, a higher degree of reality is assigned to the outer world. It is pronounced to have an independent origin or emanatory principium, *Prakṛiti*, *Pradhāna*. The term *Brahman* is explained to be a collective

designation of a plurality of Selves or Purushas. Full reality is allowed to the Purushas, a lower but independent reality is allowed to the object-world or environments of the Purushas. These environments are said by the Sāṅkhyas to have a practical or conventional existence, inasmuch as they are perpetually changing and shifting, never at one stay. The world is for them not sublated or annulled by a perfect knowledge, as it is for the Vedāntins, but the Purusha is detached from it. It ceases to mirror its ceaseless changes upon that Self on which perfect knowledge has been mirrored. The Prakṛiti or emanatory principium is the three *primordia rerum*, pleasure, pain, and indolence, or indifference, in a state of equilibrium. The Sāṅkhyas say, that, when Brahman is said in the Upanishads to be the principium, the origin of the world, the term Brahman is used as a synonym for Prakṛiti or Pradhāna. They say further that those passages of the Upanishads that propound the unity of all souls in the Self, are merely indicative of the common nature of all souls. The unity of souls in short is a generic, not a numerical, identity. This, the reader of these articles will at once perceive to be a mere *tour de force*, an effort to set aside the plain teaching of the Upanishads.

To support their thesis of an independent principle of the world, Prakṛiti, Pradhāna, the Sāṅkhyas produce in particular, two passages of the Upanishads, one from the Katha, the other from the Śvetāśvatara. The passage of the Katha is this: "For their objects are beyond, and more subtile than the senses, the sensory beyond the objects, the intellect beyond the sensory, the great soul beyond the intellect. The ultimate undeveloped principle is beyond the great soul. Beyond the Self, Purusha, there is nothing. That is the goal, that is the final term." The Sāṅkhyas identify the great soul here mentioned with their own Buddhi or Mahān, the second of their Tattvas, the first emanation from Prakṛiti, Mind. The undeveloped principle, *avyukta*, they identify with their Prakṛiti, or Pradhāna. Śaṅkarāchārya examines this Sāṅkhya interpretation of the text of the Katha at the beginning of the fourth section of the first book of his commentary on the aphorisms of the Vedānta. "The text," he says, "does not indicate any such independent principium as the Pradhāna, the three primordia, enounced in traditionary scripture, or Smṛiti. The word *avyukta* is merely a negative term, the undeveloped as the negative correlate of the developed. Such being its etymological value, it applies to something other than the developed, to something subtile and imperceptible. The term is not the current name of any entity. It has such currency among the Sāṅkhyas, it is

true, but only as a technicality of their own, and, as such, it can have no application in Vedic exegesis. It does not follow from the order of enumeration that the same things are enumerated in the *Katka* text as in the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy. Nothing of the kind is to be found in the text. No one in his senses, if he sees a cow in a horse's stall, will pronounce it to be a horse. If we look at the context of the passage adduced, we shall find that the text does not designate the *Pradhāna* imagined by the *Sāṅkhyas*, for we shall see that the body is the chariot in the simile of the chariot in the immediately preceding context, and that it is the body that is to be understood by the undeveloped. This is probable, both by the context and by the residuary method of inference. The immediately preceding context shows that the soul is the person seated in the chariot, that the body is that chariot and so forth. 'Know the soul to be seated in a chariot and that the body is that chariot. Know the intellect to be the charioteer, and the sensory the reins. They say that the senses are the horses, that the objects of senses are the roads. Sages say, that the transmigrating soul is Self united to the body, the organs and the sensory.' If the senses are not held in check, the soul proceeds to further transmigration. If they are held in check, it attains 'the further limit of its journey, the sphere of *Vishnu*, the supreme.' The text goes on to teach that the further limit of the journey of the soul is the impersonal Self, the Self being beyond the senses and the rest of the things enumerated in the simile of the chariot, in the words 'their objects are beyond, and more subtle than the senses', &c. The objects, sounds, colours, and the like, spoken of as the roads along which the horses run, are beyond the senses. The sensory is beyond the objects, the intercourse between the senses and their objects depending upon the sensory. The intellect is beyond the sensory, the fruition of pleasures and pains being competent to the transmigrating soul only when they have been impressed upon the intellect. The great soul beyond the intellect is the soul seated in the chariot, the transmigrating Soul. Or the great soul may designate the intellect of *Hiranyagarbha*, the first emanation from the impersonal Self, it being upon this that all intellects depend. Thus, then, the body alone remains to be accounted for in the simile of the chariot, and it is inferrible by the residuary method that the 'undeveloped' of the text is the body. It will be asked why the body, a visible, and tangible thing, is spoken of as the undeveloped? The reply is that the body here designated is the invisible and intangible causal body, that out of which the visible and tangible bodies are produced. It is this very world itself in its potential condition,

without name and colour, which afterwards becomes differentiated under name and colour, that is designated by the term undeveloped."

Thus, then, the Sāṅkhyas pretend that the undeveloped principle mentioned in this text of the Katha Upāṇishad is their own principle, Prakṛiti, or Pradhāna. Sankarāchārya proves against them from the context that it is the body, the causal body, the sum total of illusion out of which the world is made.

The other text on which the Sāṅkhyas principally rely for their tenet of Pradhāna, is a verse of the Śvetāsvatara Upanishad. It is this:—"The one unborn, red, white, and black, giving birth to many offspring like herself,—one unborn soul lingers in dalliance with her, another quits her, his dalliance with her ended." The Sāṅkhyas, explain the one unborn, red, white and black, to be Prakṛiti, the three primordia; rajas, or pain being spoken of as red, sattva, or pleasure as white, and tamas, or indifference, as black. One Purusha lingers with her, passes from body to body. Another Purusha quits her, after she has produced his bondage and liberation. Sankarāchārya in his commentary on the aphorisms of the Vedānta urges that a single text is insufficient to prove that the doctrine of Pradhāna has any Vedic warrant. The text must be interpreted according to the context, and in conformity to a passage of the Chhāndogya Upanishad, "The red colour of fire is the colour of heat, white is the colour of water, black the colour of earth." According to the context, the unborn one is Māyā or Śakti, the illusion or power of the Demiurgus or world-projecting deity. And according to the teaching of the Chhāndogya Upanishad this illusion, or creative power, or potentiality of name and form, is developed into heat, water and earth, which are again developed into the bodies of every kind of transmigrating sentience. Sankarāchārya's interpretation is certainly the natural, no less than it is the traditionary and authoritative, exposition of this text of the Svetāsvatara. In fact the teaching of the Svetāsvatara is precisely the same as that of the other Upanishads.

Another point of debate between the Sāṅkhyas and the Vedāntins, or followers of the philosophy of the Upanishads is well worth noting. This is the denial by the Sāṅkhyas of any Isvara, Demiurgus, or world-projecting divinity. It will be remembered that the Isvara of the Vedāntins is the impersonal Self, as illusively overspread with illusion. The Sāṅkhya doctrine, in this regard, is nowhere better stated than by Vāchaspatimisra in the Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī. "The unconscious," he says, "is seen operating relatively to an end: the unconscious milk of the cow, for example, energises towards the growth of the calf. It is

in this manner that the emanative first cause acts with a view to liberation of the transcendent spirits. Let not any one argue that this argument is inapplicable, the activity of the milk being determined by the superintendence of a supreme constructive intelligence, *Isvara*. For, as we see in our every-day life, the activities of intelligent beings are marks either of self-interest or of beneficence. But as we must deny both self-interest and beneficence in regard to the origin of the universe, we must deny that the creation had for its antecedent the activity of an intelligence. A creator that has already all he can desire, can have no interest or purpose in creating. Nor could his creative energy proceed from beneficence. Prior to creation there can be no misery, there being no experience of senses, bodies, objects, by living creatures. What is there, then, that the divine compassion could desire to extricate them from? It may perhaps be said that a divine providence is supposable, if we suppose the creator to look at the sufferings of souls subsequent to creation. This hypothesis implies a logical circle that you cannot get out of: the creation proceeds from the divine tenderness, the divine tenderness proceeds from creation. Again, a *Demiurgus* actuated by beneficence would not create sentient beings under disparate conditions, but in a state of co-equal happiness. But disparity of conditions, we hear some one say, proceeds from disparity of foregone merits. If so, away, say we, with this superintendence of merits and their fruits by a supreme intelligence. The blind and fatal operation of the efficacy of works, apart from any such imaginary superintendence, is a better hypothesis; it being plain that there would be no misery at all, did not bodies, the senses and their objects, come into being as the products of that efficacy."

Now let us see how *Sāukarāchārya* deals with these arguments. To translate his comments in the *Sārīrakasūtrabhāṣya*. "It is urged that the *Demiurgus* cannot be the cause of the world. And, why? Because, he would be unjust and cruel. He makes some exceedingly happy, as the gods, and others extremely wretched, as the lower animals. To others he gives an intermediate position, as to men. If he creates such an unequal world, he must have his preferences and aversions like one of ourselves, and thus, there will be an end of the purity and other divine attributes ascribed to him in revelation and tradition. So also he must be pitiless and cruel to a degree that even bad men would reprobate, as involving his creatures in misery, and as retracting them again into himself. The *Demiurgus*, then, is not the cause of the world. To all this, we reply, that injustice and cruelty do not attach to the *Demiurgus*. And, why? Because, he does not operate independently. If he

acted altogether of himself and so evolved an unequal world, he would indeed be unjust and cruel, but he does not energise altogether of himself, but it is with reference to something beyond himself that he projects the unequal spheres of experience. You will ask in reference to what. In reference, we reply, to the merits and demerits of the transmigrating sentiencies. The inequalities of the world are relative to the merits and demerits of these sentiencies that he projects, and he is not to blame. The Demiurgus may be likened to a rain-cloud. The rain-cloud causes rice, barley, and other grains to grow up. It is the peculiar powers of the several seeds that cause them to spring up differently from each other, the one as rice, the other as barley, and so forth. In a like manner, it is that the Demiurgus is the cause alike of the evolution of gods, men, and other creatures. The cause that they differ one from another is the particular deserts of the several transmigrating sentiencies. The Demiurgus does not operate in independence of these deserts, and is not guilty of injustice and cruelty. If you ask how we know that the Demiurgus has to act in reference to something beyond himself, and, therefore, produces higher, middle, and lower spheres of transmigratory experience, we reply that Vedic revelation proves it, in such texts as He makes him to do good whom he wishes to raise up above these present spheres, and makes him to do evil whom he wishes to sink below these present spheres. You will argue against all this, that prior to creation, there is no distinction in things, and therefore no such thing as the efficacy of works, relative to which the inequalities of the world can be supposed to be, the text saying : Existent only, fair son, was this in the beginning, one only, without duality. The retributive fatality, you will say, presupposes the different embodiments subsequent to creation, and the difference of embodiments presupposes the retributive fatality, and thus there is a logical seesaw. To avoid this, you will say the activity of the Demiurgus, guided by the retributive fatality, can only be subsequent to the difference of embodiments, and, as prior to this difference, there can be no such retributive fatality, the first creation, in the series of creations, must be one of pure equality. In this argument of yours, we reply, there is nothing to disprove our doctrine of the Demiurgus. *The series of creations has had no beginning.* Your objection could be of force only if the series had a beginning, but as it had none, there is nothing to gainsay the position that the fatality of retribution and the inequalities in the creations repeat themselves, as seed from plant, and plant from seed. You will next ask us how we know that the series of creations had no beginning. The

reply is forthcoming. It is this—If the series of creations had a beginning, being would come out of nothing, and, thus, the liberated souls might become again implicated in metempsychosis. They would suffer for what they had not done, for there would be nothing to cause the unequal allotment of happiness and misery. This supposition would be as much against your principles as it is against ours. The Demiurgus is not the author of disparity. The cosmical illusion is not *per se* the cause of inequality. The cosmical illusion becomes the source of inequalities in virtue of the residuary influences of the retributive fatality that are latent in it. In saying, that there is no embodiment without merits, and no merits without embodiment, we are not guilty of arguing in a circle. The series is without beginning, reproducing itself as seed from plant, and plant from seed.

So far an effort has been made to present the philosophy of the Upanishads to the reader in dialectic life and movement, to show how the Vedāntins try to meet the principal counterpositions of the Buddhist and the Sāṅkhya philosophers. Buddhism appears to be a revolt against the teaching of the Upanishads. The Sāṅkhya appears to be an attempt to present a firmer front against the Buddhists, by assigning a greater independence and stability to the outer world.

As to their fundamental doctrines, the Upanishads are all at one. The Śvetāśvatara Upanishad has sometimes been thought to lend countenance to the Sāṅkhya tenets, to be in fact a Sāṅkhya Upanishad. The Śvetāśvatara is frequently cited in the writings of the Indian schoolmen, and is of very high importance as a document of early Indian philosophy. Its teaching is the same as that of the other Upanishads; it is very full, and very explicit. That the reader may judge for himself whether the tenets of the unity of souls in the Self, and the unreality of the world, are or are not taught in it, it will be well to subjoin a translation of it in full. It runs as follows:—

1. "Om. The expositors of the Self say, what is the cause of all things? Is it the Self? From what do we proceed, by what do we live, into what do we return? What are we actuated by in passing through variety amidst pleasures and pains, O ye that know the Self?"

"Is the source of things to be thought to be time, or the nature of the things themselves, or retributive fatality, or chance, or the elements, or the personal soul, the Purusha? The union of these is not the source of things, for that is for the sake of the soul. The soul also is not competent, not the cause, there being a cause of its pleasures and its pains.

"Immersed in concentration by abstraction, they saw the power of the divine Self hidden beneath its own emanations, to be the source of things. That one Self it is that actuates and controls all those causes, including time and the personal soul.

"That Self we ponder on, as the wheel with one felly, with three tires, with sixteen extremities, with fifty spokes, with twenty pegs to strengthen the spokes, multiform, with one cord, with three several paths, with one illusion proceeding from two causes."

Such is the *Brahmachakra*, wheel of Brahman, or circle of the universe. The one felly is the cosmical illusion, *Māyā*, *Prakriti*, *Sakti*. The three tires are *Sattva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*, the three *primordia rerum*. The sixteen extremities are the five elements, the five organs of sense, the five organs of motion, and the common sensory. The fifty spokes are the fifty modes of mental creation. The twenty pegs are the ten organs and their ten kinds of objects. The one cord is desire. The three several paths are merit, demerit, and knowledge. The two causes of illusion are good and evil works. In his explanation of the fifty spokes, it will be seen that *Saukarāchārya* uses *Sāṅkhya* technicalities. These, indeed, are not unfrequently adopted in *Vedāntic* exposition. It appears not unlikely that originally the *Sāṅkhya* was nothing more than a nomenclature for the successive emanations from *Prakriti* or *Māyā*, and that the doctrines of the reality of *Prakriti* and the plurality of *Purushas* were later developments. This supposition will at any rate explain what has not yet been explained, the manner in which *Kapila* and the *Sāṅkhya* are mentioned in the *S'vetāśvatara Upanishad* and in the *Bhagavad-gītā*. As *Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall* says, "in the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavadgītā* and other ancient Indian books, we encounter, in combination, the doctrines which, after having been subjected to modifications that rendered them as wholes irreconcilable, were distinguished at an uncertain period, into what have for many ages been styled the *Sāṅkhya* and the *Vedānta*." It appears probable, that the *Sāṅkhya* was originally only another set of expressions for the teaching of the *Vedānta*. That the *Vedānta* is the only legitimate exposition of the *Upanishads* there can be no doubt. To return to the text :—

"This Self we ponder on as the river with five streams, from five sources swift and winding, with the five motor organs as its waves, with the five sense-organs as its first springs, with five eddies, swollen and rapid with the five miseries, with five several infirmities, with five reaches."

The five streams are the five senses, the five eddies are the five kinds of objects of sense. The five miseries are those of conception, birth, decay, sickness, and death. The five infirmities are illusion, identification of Self with not-Self, desire, aversion, and fear. These are the five reaches of the river.

"In this wheel of Brahman, wherein all things live, whereinto all things return, the soul transmigrates so long as it thinks itself, and the Demiurgus that actuates it to differ, but when it is graced by him it goes to immortality.

"This is sung as the supreme Self. Upon it is the triad. It is the glorious support of all things, it changes not. In this world, those that know the Self, so soon as they know it are re-absorbed into the Self, immersed therein, they are freed from future births."

The triad is the transmigrating souls, their environments, and the world-projecting deity.

"The potent Demiurgus upholds the world, this united, perishable and imperishable, developed and undeveloped, world. And the soul is impotent, is bound, in that it must have fruition of its deserts, but when it comes to know the divine Self, it is loosed from all its ties.

"There are two unborn, the soul that knows (the Demiurgus), and the soul that knows not (the individual sentiency), potent, and impotent. There is one unborn principle (Prakriti, Māyā) made up of the sentiencies and their environments. And there is this infinite Self, existing under every form, and doing (and suffering) nothing. When one attains to the triad, this is the Self, the ultimate spiritual reality.

"The perishable is Pradhāna, the principium. The immortal, the immutable, is Hara. The one divine Self rules the two perishable orders. From meditating upon it, from concentration upon it, from identifying oneself with it, there arises often a cessation of the cosmical illusion.

"On knowing the divine being (the Self), there is a falling away of all ties. By the passing away of the infirmities there is escape from births and deaths. From meditation on the deity, there is, on parting from the body, a third condition, that of universal lordship. He whose desires are all fulfilled is isolated.

"This Self is ever to be known, within oneself. Other than this there is nothing to be known. The transmigrating sentiency, the environment, the divinity that actuates all sentiencies from within; all these three are proclaimed to be that Self, the spiritual reality.

"As the shape of fire is not seen so long as it is latent in the firedrills, nor is there any destruction of the subtle form, and as this fire is to be struck out again and again from the firedrills that it resides in, so is the Self to be made to flash out from the body by means of the mystic syllable Om.

"Let a man make his body the wether firedrill, the mystic syllable the upper firedrill, and by the practice of meditation, as by friction, let him gaze upon the divine Self concealed within him.

"As the oil within the oil-seeds, as butter within the cream, as waters within the streams, as fire within the firedrills, this Self is found within himself, by him that seeks it with truthfulness, with self-coercion.

"He finds the Self that permeates all things, like curds within the milk, the fount of spiritual insight and of self-coercion. That Self it is, in which the supreme bliss resides.

II. "Fixing first the sensory, let Savitri fix the other faculties upon the truth, looking at the light of fire, let him lift me above this earth.

"With concentrated mind, we strive with all our might, by the grace of Savitri to attain to heavenly bliss.

"Having with the sensory fixed the senses, may Savitri produce in us senses, by which there shall be bliss, which by spiritual intuition shall reveal the divine Being, the great light.

"The sages that fix the sensory and fix the senses, let them give great praise to the great, wise Savitri, who alone, knowing all knowledge, appointed sacrificial rites.

"I meditate on that primeval Self that ye reveal, with adorations. Thy verses go glorious along their path. All the sons of the immortal hearken, who dwell in celestial habitations.

"The mind is fixed upon that rite in which fire is struck out, in which the air is stirred, in which the Soma-juice flows over.

"With a Soma-libation to Savitri let one worship the primeval Self, thou that practisest meditation thereon, for thy former rites no longer attach to thee."

"Having seated his body firmly with its three upper portions erect, having with his sensory fixed his senses upon his heart, let the sage cross beyond all the fear-bringing streams of metempsychosis in the spiritual boat, the mystic syllable Om.

"Let the sage checking his breath, suppressing every movement, with attenuated sensory, respire through the nose : let him, ever heedful, hold fast the sensory, this chariot with vicious horses.

"Let him meditate in a level spot free from fire, from pebbles and from sand, amidst sweet sounds, waters and leafy bowers, in a place that soothes the mind, not in a spot that pains the eyes.

"* First a frost, then a smoke, then the sun, then a fire, then a hot wind, then a swarm of fire flies, then lightning, then a crystalline form as of the moon,—such are the appearances that precede, and give place to the manifestation of the Self, in contemplation.

"When earth, water, light, fire, ether have arisen, when the five-fold qualities of Yoga have been realised, there is no further sickness, decay, or pain, for him that has attained to a body purged in the fire of Yoga.

"Lightness, healthiness, freedom from desires, clearness of complexion, a pleasant accent in speaking, a pure odour, a diminution of the excretions, announce the first success in Yoga.

"As a disc of metal soiled with earth, so soon as it is cleaned shines brilliantly, so the embodied soul that has gazed upon the spiritual reality has attained its end and its miseries have passed away."

"When with his own soul, as with a lamp, the concentrated seer beholds the spiritual reality, unborn, unfailing, unaffected by all things that are, knowing the divine Self, he is loosed from all ties.

"For this divine Self is in every quarter, for it is the first that passes into being. This it is that is within the womb, this it is that is born, this it is that shall be born. It stands towards all living things, it has faces everywhere.

"The deity that is in the fire, that is in the waters, that permeates all the worlds, that is in plants, that is in trees,—to that deity be adoration !

III. "That one deity that holds the net, that rules with his powers, that with his powers makes all the worlds ; that which alone is in development and manifestation,—they that know this become immortal.

"For there is one Rudra,—they allow no second thing,—who rules these spheres with his powers. He abides within all living things, and in the end retracts them into himself, after projecting all the worlds, and being their upholder. With eyes everywhere, with faces everywhere, with arms every-

* Cf. Kingsley's *Hypatia*, p. 315. Hypatia is seeking mystic intuition of the Deity, union with the One.

"She did not feel her own limbs, hear her own breath. A light bright mist, an endless network of glittering films, coming, going, uniting, resolving themselves, was

above her and around her. Was she in the body, or out of the body? The network faded into an abyss of still clear light. A still warm atmosphere was around her, thrilling through and through her. She breathed the light, and floated in it, as a mote in the midday beam."

where, with feet everywhere, he incloses all things with his arms, with his wings,—the one deity that gives birth to sky and earth.

"He that is the source and the might of the gods, the lord of all things, Rudra, the great seer, he that in the beginning begot Hiranyagarbha, may he endow us with a clear intelligence.

"With that form of thine that is auspicious, not fearful, that reveals holiness, with that most blessed form, O thou that dwellest in the mountains, look upon us.

"Protector of the mountains, make that dart that thou carriest in thy hand to throw, auspicious. Hurt not man, hurt not the world.

"They that know the supreme Self, beyond the world-projecting deity, all pervading, hidden within all creatures within their several bodies, that alone encompasses the universe, the lord of all, become immortal.

"I know this great Purusha, sun-bright, beyond the darkness. He that knows him passes beyond death. There is no other path to go by.

"Beyond this there is nothing else; lesser than this, is nothing; greater than this, is nothing. He stands alone, firm as a tree, in the heaven. Filled with that spirit is all this world.

"That which is beyond *that* (the Self), is colourless, is painless. They that know this become immortal. Others go only to misery again.

"Its are all faces, all heads, all necks; it abides in the hearts of all living things. All-pervading is that powerful being, therefore omnipresent and auspicious.

"A great lord is Purusha, this actuator of the soul from within, that rules this pure attainment, luminous, imperishable.

"Of the size of a thumb is Purusha, the soul within, ever seated in the heart of living things, with the heart the ruler of thought, manifested with the mind. They that know this become immortal.

"A thousand heads has Purusha, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. Encompassing the earth on every side, he stands a span's breadth beyond it.

"Purusha is all this, whatso has been, whatso shall be, the lord of immortality, and of what grows up by nourishment.

"Everywhere that has hands and feet, everywhere eyes, heads, and faces, everywhere it has ears. It stands encompassing all things in the world.

"It shines forth in the modifications of all the organs, it is independent of the organism and the organs, the ruler, the controller of all things, the great refuge of all.

"Embodied in its nine-gated city, as the transmigrating soul it moves outward, the actuator of all creation, of all things that move, things that move not.

"Without hands or feet it moves rapidly, it handles all things. It sees without eyes, it hears without ears, it knows the knowable, and there is none that knows it. This, they say, is the great Purusha primeval.

"Smaller than the smallest, greater than the greatest, the Self that is seated in the heart of living things. He that by the purity of his faculties sees this mightiness, this ruler, that does nothing and suffers nothing, passes beyond his miseries.

"I know this Self of all living things, undecaying, primeval, omnipresent, because it permeates all things, that which the expositors of the Self pronounce to have had no genesis, that which they proclaim to be eternal.

IV. "May that divine spirit that is alone, that is of no race, that in virtue of its divers powers sustains the divers races, that withdraws them into itself in the end of things, in which are all things in the beginning,—may that spirit endow us with clear intelligence.

"That only is fire, that is the sun, that is the wind, that only is the moon, that only is the stars, that is Hiranyagarbha, that is the waters, that is Prajapati.

"Neither male art thou nor female, neither youth nor maiden, yet in decrepitude thou totterest with a staff, yet art thou born, thou hast faces everywhere.

"Thou art the dark bee, thou the red-eyed parrot; thou art the thunder-cloud, thou the seasons, thou the seas. Thou art without beginning, thou pervadest all things; from thee proceed all the worlds.

"The one unborn, red, white, and black, giving birth to many offspring like herself—one unborn soul lingers in dalliance with her, another quits her, his dalliance with her ended.

"Two birds associated, united, are settled upon the same tree. Of these the one eats the sweet fruit of the holy fig-tree, the other looks on without eating.

"In the same tree the personal soul, settled, sorrows helplessly knowing not what to do, but when it sees the other, the adored lord, and his glory, its sorrow leaves it.

"That supreme expanse that passes not away, in which are the Richas, the hymns of praise, in which dwell all the gods,—he that knows not this, what shall he do with hymns of praise? They that know it, it is they that are sped.

"That which the hymns, the sacrifices, rites, ordinances, the past, the future, the Vedas proclaim,—from that it is that the illusionist (Māyin, the Demiurgus) projects this universe, and in that it is that another remains entangled in illusion.

"Let a man know that the illusion is Prakriti, that the illusionist is the great ruler (the Demiurgus). All this shifting world is filled with portions of him.

"He that alone presides over emanation after emanation, in whom is the world, who withdraws the world into himself,—he that knows that deity, the giver of the good gift, adorable, passes into this peace for ever.

"He that is the origin and the mightiness of the gods, the ruler of all things, the great seer,—behold him coming into being as Hiranyagarbha. May he endow us with a clear intelligence.

"He that is lord over the gods, upon whom all the worlds are established, he that rules all living things two-footed or four-footed. Let us offer an oblation to the divine Who.

"He that knows Siva, most subtle among things, subtle, abiding in the midst of the illusory confusion, the projector of the world, multiform, that alone encompasses the universe,—he passes into this peace for ever.

"He that is in its season the only upholder of the world, the lord of all things, hidden within all creatures, with which holy sages and deities have unified themselves,—they that know him cut the bands of death.

"He that knows Siva hidden in all living things, like the filmy scum upon ghee, the one divine Self that encompasses the world, is extricated from all bonds.

"* This divine Being, the maker of all things, the great spirit seated ever in the heart of sentiences, revealed with the heart, the soul, the mind,—they that know this become immortal.

* Cf. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Ch. 63: "The fakirs of India, and the monks of the Oriental Church, were alike persuaded that in total abstraction of the mind and body, the purer spirit may ascend to the enjoyment and vision of the deity. The opinion and practice of its monasteries of mount Athos will be

"When this is free from darkness, and there is in it neither night or day, when it is neither existent nor non-existent, but undifferented only and isolated, then it is changeless, then it is adorable to the sun-god, and there proceeds out of it, the primeval gnosia.

"This none has comprehended, above, below, or in the middle; of this there is no image; to which belongs infinite glory.

"The form of this is present in no vision, no man sees it with the eye. They that thus know this with the heart, with the mind, become immortal.

"Such a one in fear betakes himself to this, because it is without beginning. O Rudra! protect me ever with thy right, thy gracious countenance.

"Injure us not in child or grandchild, nor in our cattle, nor in our horses; slay not our servants in thy wrath. With sacrificial butter we invoke thee to our assembly.

V. In this, the unchanging spiritual reality, infinite, are laid up the twain, knowledge and illusion, as yet unmanifest. Illusion is perishable, knowledge is immortal. He that governs knowledge and illusion, is another. "He that alone actuates sphere upon sphere from within, and all forms and all emanations; he that sustains with knowledge the seer Kapila that arose in the beginning, and beholds him coming into being;

"This divine being spreads out his single net in many forms in this field (the cosmical illusion), and draws it in again. Thus, the great lord again and again projects the Prajāpatis, and exercises dominion over all things.

"He shines like the sun, irradiating all spaces, above, below, between. Thus, this deity potent, adorable, alone presides over the various origins of things;

"Who, the origin of the universe, ripens the nature of each thing, and develops all things that can be developed; who alone presides over all this universe, and disposes variously the primordia.

"That is hidden in the Upanishads that are hidden in the Veda, that Brahmā knows to be the source of the Veda. Whatso gods and seers of old have known that, have become one with it, have become immortal.

"This only it is that, influenced by residuary deserts, the doer of works that tend to fruition, has fruition of that which it has done. This, under every shape, associated with the three primordia, travelling along three paths, transmigrates according to its works, the ruler of the vitalising airs.

"Of the size of a thumb, luminous like the sun, associated with volition and personality, with the functions of the mind and of the body, it is seen in its lower manifestation to be of the size of the point of a goad.

"That personal soul is to be known as a fraction of the hundredth part of the extremity of a hair a hundred times divided, and yet it is co-extensive with infinity.

"Neither male is that, nor female, nor neither male nor female. Whatsoever body that personal soul assumes, by that body it is supported.

"The embodied spirit, desiring, touching, seeing, illuded, passes successively into form after form in sphere after sphere of existence, in accordance with its works, as the body grows by the assimilation of food and drink.

represented in the words of an abbot, who flourished in the eleventh century. When thou art alone in thy cell, says the ascetic teacher, shut thy door and seat thyself in a corner; raise thy mind above all things, vain and transitory; recline thy beard and chin on thy breast; turn thy eyes and thy thought towards the middle of

thy belly, the region of the navel; and search the place of thy heart, the seat of the soul. At first all will be dark and comfortless; but if you persevere day and night, you will feel an ineffable joy and no sooner has the soul discovered the place of the heart, than it is involved in a mystic and ethereal light."

"The embodied spirit clothes with its merits many forms, coarse and fine and, by the nature of its works and the qualities of its bodies, is united to another body, and is seen to be another.

"He that knows the divine spirit, without beginning and without end, in the midst of the illusion, the creator of the universe, manifested under various shapes, that alone encompasses the world, is loosed from all bonds.

"They that know the divine spirit, cognisable to the purified intelligence, bodiless, that makes things to be and not to be, free from the cosmical illusion, the creator of the elements of the organism,—they escape the body.

VI. "Some sages say that it is the nature of things, others, that it is time,—in their confusion; but it is the mightiness of the divine spirit that keeps the wheel of Brahman, the cosmic cycle, still revolving.

"It is the all-knowing author of time, all-perfect, by whom this universe is for ever pervaded. Presided over by him it is that the retributive fatality passes into form after form, to be viewed as earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

"Making that work and pausing, again and again the reality comes into union with some entity, with one entity or two or three, with light, with time, and with the invisible functions of the mind.

"He who resolves all those emanations, characterised by the primordia into the creative spirit, has put away his good and evil works, those emanations no longer existing for him, and on the exhaustion of his merits passes forward, other than those entities.

"Having first meditated on that divine being that dwells in his heart manifest under every form, the essence of all that is adorable, that is the source of all things, the cause of those illusions that unite the soul to the body, beyond time past, present, and to come, unlimited by time.

"That is beyond the manifestations of world-tree; beyond the manifestation of time, and other than those manifestations, out of which this manifested world revolves. He that knows that lord of might that brings perfection, that puts away imperfection, immortal, within his soul, passes into the substance of the universe.

"That we know as the supreme deity of the deities, the supreme lord of the Prajāpatis, beyond the universe, self-luminous, the ruler of the spheres, adorable.

"No body has that, no organs. None is seen to be equal to that or greater. Transcendent is the essential power thereof revealed to be, multi-form, energising in knowledge and in action.

"Thereof no lord is seen in the world, no ruler, no mark to prove its existence. He is the cause, the lord of the lords of the senses. There is none that begets him, none that controls him.

"May that one divine being that, like a spider, out of himself envelops himself with threads drawn from the principium, Pradhāna,—may he bestow upon us re-union with the Self.

"The one divine being inclosed in all living things, permeating all things, the inner soul of all sentiences, presiding over their works, having his habitation in all creatures, the witness of every thing, conscious of all things, isolated, apart from the primordia.

"The one being that is independent amidst many that are inert, that develops the one germ of things into many forms—those sages that see that within themselves, for them is everlasting bliss, and for none else.

Eternal amidst the eternal, conscious amidst the conscious, who being one only fulfils the wishes of those many: he that knows that divine being the cause of all things, to be learned in the Sāukhya and the Yoga, is extricated from all ties.

"To that the sun gives no light, nor the moon and the stars, yonder lightnings shine not on it, how then this fire? That as it shines, all things shine after; by its light all this world is manifested.

"That is the one soul in the midst of this world. That is the fire seated in the midst of the water. Knowing that a man passes beyond death. There is no other path to go by.

"That is the maker of all things, omniscient, the Self and the source of all things, the author of time, all-perfect, all-knowing, the sustainer of the principium (Pradhāna) and of the personal souls, the ruler of the primordia, the origin of metempsychosis, liberation, preservation, and bondage.

"Such is that, immortal, abiding in the lord, the Demiurgus, knowing all things, present everywhere, the upholder of this world, which rules over this world for ever. There is no other that is able to rule over it.

"That which in the beginning projects out of itself Hiranyagarbha, that which projects the Vedas,—to that divine spirit that illumines the intellect, I fly for refuge, aspiring to liberation;

"Without parts, without action, without change, blameless, undefiled, the bridge across to immortality, like a fire that has consumed its fuel.

"When men shall roll up the sky like a hide, then, and not till then shall there be an end to misery without knowing the divine being.

"Through the efficacy of his austerities, and through grace to know the Vedas, the sage Śvetāśvatara proclaimed to the venerable anchorites the spiritual reality, Brahman, supreme and pure, rightly meditated upon by many seers.

"This highest mystery of the Upanishads, revealed in a former æon, is not to be imparted to any other than a quietist, a son, a disciple.

"He that has unfeigned devotion to the divine Self, and to his spiritual instructor as to the divine Self,—to that excellent aspirant these truths, thus proclaimed, reveal themselves; to that excellent aspirant they reveal themselves."

A. E. GOUGH.

ART. III.—SARDHANA :—THE SEAT OF THE SOMBRES— ITS PAST AND PRESENT.

[The materials of this notice are scattered over a good deal of reading and actual observation. The purely historical portion is founded on studies made for a book published in 1867 (*Fall of the Mughal Empire*). Some particulars, chiefly of a lighter nature, have been taken from Baillie Fraser (*Memoirs of Col. Skinner, C. B.*) and Sleeman (*Rambles and Recollections*). Reference has also been made to letters printed in various collections of papers made by the late Mr. Dyce Sombre and by Lady Forester for purposes connected with litigation.]

AN apology is due to the reader for the shortcomings of the following pages ; that apology will be found, it is hoped, in the nature of the subject. The origin of the Sombre family and the founding of Sardhana go back far into the last century ; and the last century, to persons in India, is a mediæval period of lost manners and forgotten ways of life whose incidents are blurred by bad recording, and whose politics are obscured by reason of their having had no apparent results. Mr. Henry James, in one of his kindly, thoughtful criticisms, speaks of this difficulty as existing even in regard to European history. "No other age appeals at once so much and so little to our sympathies, or provokes such alternations of curiosity and repugnance. It is near enough to us to seem to partake of many of our current feelings, and yet it is divided from us by an impassable gulf." If this be true of Europe, where, but lately, persons were still living who had lived through the French Revolution and seen the heads of the Jacobites mouldering on Temple Bar, how much more must it apply to India, where society completely changes every twenty years, and perhaps one survivor of the first Afghan war lives to see the second.

Yet there are monuments of various sorts still left in modern India, which may serve to bridge the gulf, even though the bridge be narrow and dimly lighted. The solution of continuity may be considerable, but it is not quite complete. For instance, the writer of these lines has himself held actual intercourse with persons who witnessed the utterly extinct doings of those days. He has conversed with Mrs. Ellerton, who saw Sir Philip Francis carried off bleeding from his duel with Warren Hastings in the fields of Alipore ; he has talked with a *Gosain* who served under

Himmat Bahádur, and recollected the price of food during the Chalisa (1783-84).

Among still existing landmarks is the name, fantastically compounded of Scotch and French, of "Dyce Sombre;" and many persons acquainted with the military cantonment of Meerut and its environs have perhaps wondered what are the facts which account for the appearance of a fine three-storeyed house and a large church in the midst of the characteristic squalor of a native village. It is to minister to such inquiry that these pages have been penned.

About twelve miles N.-W. of the cantonment of Meerut, either by road or rail, stands the town of Sardhana, in a wide and open plain, with water near the surface, and a soil which brings forth the fruits of the earth in abundance. The surrounding districts have been much injured of late years by well-meaning attempts at artificial irrigation; the results of which have been to injure the once abundant and efficient well-system, while great interruption has been caused to the natural drainage of the country. Here—in or about the year 1777, A. D., when the land was comparatively fallow and full of resource—settled one of the most successful and one of the least deserving of the many European adventurers who, during the last century, found the livelihood of beasts of prey in the decomposing members of the once powerful Mughal Empire.

Walter Reinhardt is believed to have been a sort of German, and to have been born in the small electorate of the Archbishop of Treves, about 1720: a time and country where the ties of birth were but little felt. He became, early in life, a soldier in the French army, and accompanied his regiment to Madras at the period when those ill-starred heroes, Labourdonnais and Dupleix, were demonstrating the supremacy of discipline over mere numbers. In the autumn of 1746, a single battalion of French infantry beat the Nawab of the Carnatic under the walls of Madras, and put him to flight on his State elephant, though displaying the fish-standard of his power, and commanding ten thousand troops. But the tide soon turned. Labourdonnais returned to his own land—to die in the Bastille. Admiral Boscawen appeared in the Bay at the head of thirty ships of war; the British mustered 6,000 strong, more than half being Europeans; the French were, for the time, overpowered; and Reinhardt, like many a greater man, joined the cause which appeared to be in the ascendant. In 1754 peace was concluded between the French and English in India, and Dupleix went to France, like his colleague, to die a ruined and heartbroken man.

In 1756 war broke out again, and it was probably about this time that Reinhardt again deserted, taking service under the

Chevalier Law (a kinsman of the great financier, who had founded, in his adopted country, the still existing house of Lauriston). Lally having taken the chief command of the French forces in India, sent Law to strengthen the garrison of Chandernagore with 700 men. Early in 1757, the place was attacked by Clive and Watson, and surrendered after a gallant defence. Law, however, escaped with a small party of Europeans, among whom was Reinhardt, by this time a sergeant.

For some time the adventurers wandered about Bengal, but were ultimately engaged by Kásim Ali Khán, whom a revolution, caused by Clive's successor at Calcutta, raised to the *masnad* in 1760, and who at once organised a fine army under an able Armenian officer, named Gurjin (or Gregory). Law, following the fortunes of the fugitive Emperor, Sháh Alam, was taken prisoner by Carnac at the battle of Gáya; but ex-serjeant Reinhardt remained at Murshidábád in command of a battalion; and was soon called upon for service congenial to his nature. The Calcutta council had quarreled with Kásim, who rashly attempted to cope with them in arms, and who confined Mr. Ellis, the Political Agent at Patna, with all his followers. Being beaten in a decisive action, Kásim fell back upon Patna in a disordered frame of mind, and immediately gave orders for the slaughter of his prisoners. To their lasting credit, Gurjin and his Asiatic subalterns refused to carry out this barbarous order of a frenzied man, but Reinhardt volunteered for its execution. The unhappy prisoners—forty-eight gentlemen of the civil and military services, and 100 private soldiers—were in the courtyard of a house; Reinhardt filled the upper rooms with musketeers, and poured in volley after volley till all of them lay dead or wounded on the ground. All were then thrown into a well, which was filled up with earth. Next day Kásim and his European butcher fled to the Nawáb of Oudh, the celebrated Shujá-ud-Daulah. The British demanded their surrender, for the price of blood was on their heads. The Nawáb made a curious answer. The laws of hospitality, he said, would not admit of the surrender of persons who had taken refuge under his protection, but, if the Government of Calcutta would be pleased to send a deputation of trustworthy agents, he would have the refugees assassinated in their presence.

This offer being declined with thanks, but the British insisting that the bloodstained miscreants should not be harboured—they were expelled from the territories subject to the Nawáb. Abandoning his luckless employer, Reinhardt repaired to Bundelkhand. That province was then under the nominal rule of the Mahrattas, and was successfully ruled by Shamsher Bahádur, son of the Peshwah Bájí Rao, by a Musalmáni concubine. Finding no

opening in this comparatively quiet country, Reinhardt next moved on to the Bhartpur Játs who were engaged in a struggle with the reviving Empire under Najib-ud-Daulah. He had a number of followers, whom (profiting by the lessons he had learned in the Carnatic) he armed and disciplined in the European way, keeping as many men of that race about him as possible, and employing them mostly as officers or as artillerymen.

In 1771 the Empire was entirely restored, the Emperor returning to Delhi at the end of the year. His best counsellor, both in war and peace, was Mirza Najaf Khán; and this Minister, after disposing, to the best of his ability, of the Mahrattas and Rohilas, proceeded in the autumn of 1774 to reduce the Játs. The latter marched to the encounter, headed by their Rájá, with a powerful army, of which Reinhardt's brigade formed a portion. They entrenched themselves near Hodal, 60 miles South of Delhi; dislodged from which, they fell back on the fortifications of Deeg. The Minister passed them and turned towards Barsána, from which he could command the whole of the Bhartpur territory. The Ját army at once followed him; and a hard-fought action ensued, in which Reinhardt did good service. Covered by a cloud of skirmishers and supported by a number of field guns, he led five thousand disciplined infantry to the attack. Several Moghal officers fell and the Minister himself was wounded. A moment of confusion followed, which the firm courage of the Moghal leader retrieved. Adopting the ancient mode of warfare, he charged the guns at the head of his men-at-arms, followed by his infantry—also disciplined by a Frenchman—; the Játs broke, and all that Reinhardt could do was to retreat in good order, a thing that he always succeeded in doing.

This was in 1775 and was followed by the immediate desertion of Reinhardt, who joined the winning side. We hear no more of him in actual warfare; but meet with him soon after in charge of the lands about Sardhana, which were assigned to him by the tenure technically known as *Jaidád*;—the meaning of which appears to have been, that the nett rental of the lands formed an assignment for the maintenance of his brigade—at a stipulated strength—while for his own security he was also allowed to hold the lands in actual possession: a sort of feudal arrangement by which the foundation of many a quasi-independent principality was laid.*

Henceforth we must recognise Reinhardt by the style of "General Sombre." How he came by this change of name is difficult to determine. Some accounts represent that Reinhardt got the nickname of "Sombre," from something dark in his complexion

* *Vide* final note.

or character, while a soldier in the French army. Others, that he enlisted in the British service under the alias of Summers; which, softened to "Samru" in native mouths, was afterwards dignified into Sombre, when he became rehabilitated as a military and territorial magnate.

Sombre, however, did not long survive his new distinction and prosperity; for he was sent to Agra with a command, and died there in May 1778, as we learn from his monument in the cemetery of the "Padre Santo" there. His possessions, and the brigade to which they were attached, passed to a lady of his family; whether lawful wife or not, is hardly so clear as could be wished; but the transfer was not of the nature of hereditary succession. In a previous work* (to which I hope to be pardoned for referring) I have described these fiefs. Writing of the reign of Akbar and his propensity for paying his officers in specie, I have stated that, "some of the high vassals were paid, wholly or in part, by territorial assignments which they had a direct interest in diverting to their own purposes." Further on, in relation to Aurangzeb, a century later:—"Those made larger profits who were paid by grants of land. On this point, no statistics are available; but it may be presumed that the system of territorial assignments was one that became more and more usual; inasmuch as minor fiefs, swelling into so many hereditary principalities, did, in fact, help in the final disruption of the empire."

In the reign of Shah Alam the process was complete, though the laws of inheritance were not strictly applied as in the case of private property. The Lieutenant-Governor of Oudh had become independent, so that the English added the royal style to his titles, and his fallen descendant is still called "King." The Chief Commissioner of the Deccan had crystallised into the power still known as "the Nizam." On the death of each the position devolved on the ablest, not the nearest relation. What went on everywhere else was imitated by the mushroom adventurers of the moment; Sombre's son was set aside, and "Begum Samru" stood forth as Princess of Sardhana, with a pretence of legitimacy, a small army, a subject population, and a staff of military and civil officers. For some years her sway resembled (on a small scale) that of her contemporary, the Czarina Catherine. Like her, astute and industrious, the Sovereign of Sardhana shared the weakness for male favourites of her Muscovite sister.

The first of these whose name is recorded by historians, was George Thomas, the famous Irish adventurer, who, after deserting from his ship in the Madras roads about 1782, and doing some trifling fighting among the Polygars of the Carnatic, finally entered

* The Turks in India.

the Sardhana service. In this he greatly distinguished himself. When the Emperor made his abortive expedition towards Rajputana in the spring of the eventful year 1788, Thomas and the Begum accompanied the march with a well-appointed contingent, and on the 5th April rescued the Emperor from a very serious danger before the walls of Gokulgarh, in what is now the District of Gurgaon. This place was occupied by a contumacious chief, named Najaf Kuli Khán; and on the morning in question the garrison made such a vigorous sortie that the Mughal forces, taken by surprise, were thrown into utter confusion, and the rebels penetrated the camp, even to the neighbourhood of the Emperor's own tents. The Begum instantly went up in her palanquin, attended by Thomas, with three battalions of infantry and a field piece. Deploying in face of the enemy, with his gun in the centre, manned by Europeans, Thomas pelted the enemy with grape and musketry. The attack was checked, and the imperialists formed up. Sháh Mir Khán, supported by Himmat Bahádur, the celebrated leader of Gosains, executed a frantic charge, in which Mir Khán himself and three hundred of these valiant friars fell; on this the baffled rebels retired. The submission of the fort followed: in the subsequent Darbar the Begum was publicly thanked by the Emperor as his preserver, and honoured with the title of *Zeb-un Nissa*, or "Glory of the Sex."

This was a very different employment of the force from that to which they had been accustomed under their founder. The tactics by which "General Sombre" had attained his reputation, was to enter the field from what, after both sides had engaged, appeared the safest quarter. The guns then fired one round, after which the infantry formed square in their support; when the battle was decided, Sombre would then act upon the issue. If his side prevailed he would join in the pursuit in a deliberate and cautious way. If his side was vanquished he would conduct an equally deliberate retreat—a manœuvre in which he was well skilled, and the next day, perhaps, would wait upon the enemy with the offer of his services. Such an offer, as in the wars of mediæval Italy, was certain to be cordially accepted.

Thomas introduced a different system; and, being withal handsome, tall, and a man of great general ability, was for some time in high favor with his mistress.

Modern visitors to Sardhana are familiar with the appearance presented by Her Highness in advanced life, which was weakened and epicene, like that of an aged and diminutive eunuch. According to the description of Thomas, recorded in his memoirs by Captain Franklin, she was another sort of being at this time; fair, plump, with large and lively eyes. Though of pure Musalmán

origin (being the daughter of a Sáyad in the town of Kotána on the Jumna), and though always dressed in native raiment of the most sumptuous materials, the Begum professed the Christian faith. She spoke both Persian and Hindustani, and conducted her business in person, communicating with her native employes from the concealment of a curtain. At durbars she took her seat upon the *musnud*; but her face was veiled. In social intercourse, however, when Christians alone were present, she sat at table with the rest; only taking care to be attended solely by her maids, and allowing no male servants to enter the room.

The Begam's early history is covered by a good deal of that mist which veils the origin of so many of those who achieve greatness. Her father was, it appears, an Arab by race, named Asad Khan, and she was born in lawful wedlock. But her father died, leaving an illegitimate son, whose ill-treatment drove his half-sister and her mother to seek a home elsewhere. In the course of their wanderings they came to Delhi about 1760, when the girl was about seven years old,* and some time later she passed into the family of Sombre, who lived in the native fashion, with a copious zenana. At his death she had acquired sufficient prestige to be entrusted with the fief and the command of the army; and in 1781—under the persuasions, doubtless, of some of her foreign officers—the Begam publicly underwent the rites of baptism, and became a member of the Church of Rome. She was christened "Joanna." The brigade at this time consisted of 40 pieces of artillery, a regiment of Mughal horse, five battalions of sepoys, and about three hundred Europeans, of whom some were officers and the rest artillerymen. For the support of this force she held lands both in Hariána and Gurgaon, and also in the Doáb. The latter reached from Sardhana to the Jumna (including Kotána, her native place) and the nett income of the Cis-Jumna portion was estimated at six lakhs of rupees a year.

The only important incident of this period was the campaign, already mentioned, of 1788. Four years later, Mr. Thomas had left the service; and the Begum was married in 1792, to his successor, a French officer named Levassout (or Levassor, for these names are not easy to identify in Indian writings). The lady was married under the name of "Joanna Nobilis"; and the marriage (a private one unfortunately) was only witnessed by two brother officers and countrymen of the bridegroom, M. M. Bernier and Saleur.

* Dyce Sombre in his letter, announcing her death to Gregory XVI., says that she was 85. This, if strictly accurate, would put her birth as far back as 1749, but there is no good evidence.

It is said in a vulgar adage that, "when a man is married, his trouble begins." In the present instance, the saying held good of a woman. Happy in each other's society, the newly-wedded pair almost entirely secluded themselves from that of their fellow Christians; many of whom were, indeed, illiterate ruffians, but none the less disposed to resent assumptions on the part of a more fortunate comrade. Moreover, they pretended—possibly some really felt—disgust at what to them seemed a mere commonplace intrigue. Prominent among these malcontents was one Liégeois, who fostered their irritation till all were ripe for a revolt. The occasion was not wanting.

It has been mentioned that Sombre had left a son, whose mother was not the Begum. This man, by name Aloysius Reinhardt, had assumed the Mohamadan costume and went by the style of Nawab Zafaryáb Khán. He resided at Delhi, on a portion bequeathed by his father, but about the beginning of 1795—when the Begum and her husband were engaged in hostilities with their former friend, George Thomas—Aloysius entered into negotiations with the disaffected officers. The troops allowed themselves to be corrupted: and Levasseault and his wife, coming to hear of the conspiracy, determined to close the expedition and take refuge in flight. Liégeois repaired to Dehli and placed the deed by which (with signature or mark) his comrades had bound themselves before the Holy Trinity to obey the renegade, in the hands of Zafaryáb (Aloysius.) This was towards the end of May 1795.

Levasseault was a very different man from the Begum's first husband, if husband Sombre was. The one had been cruel, rough, "stern and bloody-minded," says one authority. The other was a chivalrous gentleman devoted to the wife to whom he owed so much. In order to save her from danger, he had written in the month of April to obtain the permission of the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, to take the Begum to Anupshahr, about sixty miles across the Doab, and that time the station of a frontier brigade under General McGowan. After some negotiation he was informed that Sindhia (the Mahratta Chief was now Vice-General of the Empire) had given his consent to a secret flitting. Colonel Levasseault would be treated as a prisoner on parole, and allowed to go down country with his wife and reside with her at a French settlement, like Chandernagore.

The conspirators were preparing to march from Dehli, with their renegade leader, as the fugitives, on the dawn of an autumn day, went out of the opposite gate of Sardhana. The lady was in her palanquin, her husband mounted on his charger. They agreed not to part either in life or in death; if duly certified that either was no more, the other would not survive.

They took their portable property with them (about two lakhs of rupees), and so determined the future course of events, for the section of the troops remaining in Sardhana determined to steal a march on their absent comrades, and prevent the booty being lost. Scarcely had the fugitives advanced three miles upon the road to Meerut when they saw dust-clouds rising behind, and they soon heard the tramp of the mutineers gaining upon the groaning palanquin bearers. Levassault urged the men to speed, but in vain; the pursuit gained more and more ground; the fair occupant of the litter stabbed herself; and her devoted husband, who could have easily galloped away, remembered his vow, and putting to his temple the pistol with which he had been menacing the bearers, without hesitation took his own life. In another instant the mutineers came up: the fallen body was seized, mutilated and cast into the ditch; while the bearers were turned round, and the palanquin, with its bleeding burden, was taken back to Sardhana. The Begum had escaped with a flesh wound, the dagger having struck the bones of the chest and drawn blood without penetrating a vital part. She was taken to the Old Fort, plundered, and tied under a gun-carriage, where she was left in the terrible heat of the place and time for some days. Her ayahs, however, continued faithful, and her necessities received attention. Meanwhile, the new ruler had begun his reign. He plunged at once into debauchery of all sorts, and the mutineers found themselves freed from all restraint. But there was one among the officers, who had not altogether abandoned his old mistress, this was M. Salour, by whose instrumentality the Begum was at last liberated from her painful position. From him, George Thomas, who was in the neighbourhood, heard of what had happened, and immediately addressed a strongly written remonstrance to his friends in the Sardhana service. There was still, as he pointed out to them, an Empire, of which they were the servants and Sindhia the master; if they persisted in their present courses the whole brigade would certainly be disbanded. These reasonings were enforced by bribes and backed up by vigorous acts. Suddenly appearing in the neighbourhood at the head of his *khâs rasâla*, or body-guard, Mr. Thomas obtained admission within the walls. The troops, finding that he had adequate support, came over to him. Zafaryab was put under arrest and plundered; the Begam was restored by the help of the gallant Irishman, more mindful of old obligations than of later estrangements (for the Begam had been on the eve of attacking him in his new *jajir* when she met with her own temporary disaster). She sent Zafaryab a prisoner to Dehli, and, when he died,* buried him at Agra, and built a hand-

some chapel over his remains. She then turned in earnest to the business of administration, and never again yielded to the promptings of love. Colonel Saleur was appointed to command the brigade.

From this period (the middle of 1795) the annals of Sardhana are almost a blank for over twelve years. An efficient but hard system was introduced, under which the tillers of the soil were little more than prædial serfs, and the State did its best to realise the whole nett produce. But the little principality, with its outlying dependencies beyond the Jumna, formed an oasis of peace and plenty among the war-worn tracts that lay around—and so the cultivators were kept to their work, and the Begum filled her coffers without the check commonly put upon exorbitant landlords in India, by the possibility of their flight. Contemporary history in Hindustan shows little more than misgovernment and rapine on the part of the higher classes, violence and crime on the part of the peasantry. "The sword rose, the hind fell;" the fields turned to forest, the highways were deserted and travellers went through bye-ways, as in the time when there was no King in Israel. Meanwhile, our modern Deborah judged her people and increased her hoards. In 1796 General de Boigne retired to Europe, and was succeeded in the civil and military administration of the Upper Doab by General Perron, who held semi-regal sway at Aligarh. But on the eastern horizon the light of British power was rising fast. In 1797 Sir J. Shore, politically feeble, though personally brave, had concluded a treaty with Oudh, by which the military forces of that province, with the possession of the Fort of Allahabad, passed into the hands of the British Government. Next year, the Government was assumed by Lord Mornington, and still more vigorous measures speedily followed. The British, being in a position where they could not stand still and were unwilling to retire, were necessitated by the conditions of the case to advance. The whole of India was at once electrified by the universality of the new movement. General Harris, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras, was set in motion against Tippu, the Sultan of Maisur; a treaty was concluded with the Nizam whose French army was at the same time broken up; the threatened invasion of India by the Afghans was diverted by diplomatic arrangements with Persia; and pressure was (though vainly) put upon Sindhia to induce him to make his appearance in Upper India as the Vicegerent of the Empire and the ally of the East India Company. In 1799, Seringapatam fell *; in 1801

* The father of the present writer commanded the company that carried the scaling-ladders for the storm-

ing party, and was one of the first to mount the walls.

all that part of the Oudh dominions which lay in the Doab was annexed, or "ceded," and Cawnpore became the frontier station of the British army; in 1802, the Mahratta power was emasculated by the Treaty of Bassein, by which the British became paramount in the Deccan.

Of this last measure the immediate result was a confederation between some of the minor potentates, which, being joined by Sindhia, precipitated the establishment of the British in the remainder of Hindustan. In the summer of 1803 two columns were sent into Central India under Stephenson, and Arthur Wellesley, while a third, under General Gerard Lake, advanced from Cawnpore to attack General Perron's army at Aligarh and Dehli.

Some of the Begum's troops were at this time serving in the Deccan, where they vainly encountered the British troops, though without loss of reputation. They took part in the crushing defeat of Assaye; standing by their guns to the last. In Upper India the British were, as we all know, equally successful. On the 29th of August Perron took to flight, and eventually came into the British camp. Aligarh was stormed by the 76th, under Colonel Macleod, on the 4th September, and 2,000 of the garrison were slain. After one more battle Dehli was occupied. Agra capitulated on the 17th October, and all remaining resistance was crushed at Laswari on the 1st of the following month.

The rapidity of these events must have caused some trepidation in the little principality of Sardhana, in whose vicinity they occurred, and some of its troops had actually engaged the conquerors. But the astute Begum adopted the spirit of the times, and made no delay in choosing the better part. Getting once more into her palanquin—the vehicle in which she had seen and suffered so much—she hastened to the British camp; Lake was at dinner when her visit was announced, but he rose hastily and ran out in time to catch Her Highness as she left her litter. In a moment of enthusiasm, and after-dinner excitement, he took her in his arms and gave her a hearty kiss. "See" my children, said the lady, turning to her startled attendants—"the embrace of a *Padre* to his repentant child." The red face and coat of this member of the Church militant are said to have struck these followers with a natural sense of incongruity; but the bold proceedings on either side were a complete success. The Begum was confirmed in a lifetime of her possessions on both sides of the Jumna; and from that date, for more than thirty years, she continued to maintain a sort of mediatised royalty in her provincial capital.

The Begum maintained considerable state at Sardhana. There was a dinner party every-day, at which her Chaplain, her Brigadier, her steward or land agent, and the officer in waiting, met the

civil and military gentlemen of the neighbouring station of Meerut. A band of music played during dinner, and the best wines of France and Spain circulated without stint. The chaplain, in the later part of her life, was Monsignor Scotti, known to Anglo-Indians as "Father Julius Cæsar" (such being his heroic prænomen). The chief military officer was, latterly, another Italian, Major Regholini; and the affairs of the state were administered for a time by a gentleman named George Dyce, who married a granddaughter of the deceased Aloysius, or Zafaryâb Khân. Mention has already been made of the mortuary chapel built by the Begum at Agra in memory of her step son: the time came by-and-bye for monuments of still more importance.

In Heber's travels (the good Bishop seems to have regarded the Begum as a sort of witch) a ridiculous story is told of a slave girl being buried alive at Sardhana for a trifling offence, and of the Begum calling for a pipe and smoking it, seated upon the place where her victim was stifling below. The tradition arose, probably, out of a punishment which she was obliged to inflict, in the interests of discipline, upon some servants who tried to burn her house down, and is chiefly valuable as helping to illustrate the stern and resolute will by which alone Asiatics are to be kept in order. The prestige produced by a short but unquestionable display of such qualities may save untold danger and difficulties, sufferings and crimes from happening hereafter. And this deserves attention the more, because it is a truth, which it is the tendency of modern civilisation to obliterate more and more. Sombre had been a lax and careless disciplinarian, and was often ill-treated by his men. The Begum, at least after the troubles of 1795, never fell into that extreme. On the occasion in question she caught the incendiaries, flogged them to death, and threw them into a well or pit. Sleeman got these facts from an eye-witness, who added that the "Begum's object was to make a strong impression upon the turbulent spirit of her troops by a severe example; in which object she entirely succeeded. Had she faltered on that occasion she must have lost the command, she would have lost that respect without which it would have been impossible for her to retain it a month."

We get glimpses of some of the minor characters of this Indian Gerolstein. Regholini was a versatile Italian, apparently without much of the taste that comes from culture, but ready enough to turn his hand to anything. "Julius Cæsar," about 1810, was noted for "a happy and handsome young man." Colonel Dyce (as he was called) was harsh and overbearing; and had to be dismissed at last; but his son was kept as pet. In 1825, Heber's visit took place.

In 1834, finding her end approaching, the Begum made preliminary dispositions in regard to whatever property might be left after her death and the consequent falling in of the fief; she adopted David Dyce, or Debi Dáss as he was called by the natives, and styled him "her grandson," though in real truth they were not related, he being the son of her ex-steward by a daughter of Zafaráh. By deed of gift she divested herself of all her property in his favour. At the same time she sent a letter, through Scotti, to Rome, covering a donation of £13,700 in English money; and in the letter she asked the Pope to have Scotti consecrated to the See of Sardhana, and to give her grandson a decoration. The last prayer of the Begum was for the blessing of His Holiness and a relic for her Church. In the same letter the Begum stated her intentions, so far as providing for the spiritual wants of Indian Catholics. She had built, she said, a church, "dedicated to the Holy Virgin Mary," of which she enclosed a drawing and fine lithographs. Her Church, she is "proud to say, is said to be the finest without any exception in India." She had, she went on to inform the Pope, bequeathed one lakh of rupees for the support of a college at Sardhana, "for making Catholic priests of the natives"; a similar sum was said to have been "bequeathed," for the support of the See which she wished to establish at Sardhana, in favour of Monsignor Scotti. An equal sum was further said to have been "bequeathed for all our churches in the three Presidencies;" also thirty thousand to the Church of Agra; "the interest of half-a-lakh was to be given" to the poor of Sardhana, and the same to the poor of Calcutta; while a third sum of the like amount was devoted to charitable uses in England. This letter is dated 12th January 1834.

Two years after the old lady was dead, her decease taking place on the 27th January 1836. In the preceding December, however, she had received the answer of Gregory XVI, acknowledging her gifts and acceding to her requests. David stood forth as Chevalier of the Order of Christ, and Julius Cæsar as Bishop of Amathunta, and Vicar Apostolic of Sardhana. The bequests were confirmed; the new proprietor making deeds of trust by which the various endowments were carried into effect.

But the clerical beneficiary was by no means satisfied. What were his exact expectations does not appear. But a month after the Begum's death, Slecman saw him "very miserable," because his legacy had disappointed his hopes. Her Highness had only left him a trifle, personally, saying that, as a priest, he was amply provided for by the stipend settled on his See. A day or two afterwards His Lordship decamped, leaving the Church, as David puts it, in a fresh letter to the Pope, "without a pastoral guide,".....

He adds that "this worthy would have received a yearly income of three thousand rupees, but with this he was not satisfied, and which is the only reason, I believe, why he would not remain." The end of this episode was serious for the new-fledged prelate. The unheroic namesake of a hero, he returned to Italy, but wholly failed to satisfy his spiritual superiors with his explanations. In 1841 he was got hold of and made to hand over to the Vicar Apostolic of Hindustan all his powers and privileges under the deeds by a formal instrument, in which also he renounced them for his own part. He then disappears from sight, as completely as if, which was possibly the case, he sank into an *oubliette* in the castle of St. Angelo.

In 1837, David arrived in Europe with personal property yielding a handsome income, and two lawsuits against the Indian Government, one of which was destined to yield a good deal more.* The rest of his history would not be referred to here, some of the actors being still alive, were it not necessary to give sufficient information to enable the reader to understand the existing condition of the estate and trusts.

Two of the Begum's old friends gave the young heir opposite advice the one to the other. Lord Combermere wrote warmly, urging him to visit Europe ; and Colonel Skinner, C. B. addressed him an ode in Persian, strongly dissuading him from the step. The advice of the Colonel was better than that of the Field-Marshal, in spite (or in consequence) of which the latter prevailed. Never was a man less qualified to navigate safely the sea into which Dyce Sombre was thus launched. In Rome, in Paris, in London, there were snares and perils of which a wealthy and unguided youth must always make sad experience ; how much more an Asiatic, bred in the complete indulgence of *zenāna* life, dissolute, illiterate, and given to drink ! The descendant of the weak and vicious Zafaryāb, of the arbitrary parvenu Dyce, and of fond and foolish Mohamedan ladies who had never seen the world beyond the haram curtains, he added to his other disadvantages a wilfulness which amounted, at least, to eccentricity.

Such as he was, Dyce Sombre wooed and won the Hon'ble Mary Ann Forester, a daughter of Viscount St. Vincent. What may have been the life of a delicately nurtured English patrician lady, united to a half crazy and wholly debauched oriental, may be to some extent imagined. It has no concern with our present task. Dyce Sombre was legally pronounced a lunatic, but he

* Under the deed of adoption he had added the name of Sombre to his patronymic.

continued to avoid restraint and to settle himself in Paris, where he passed the greater part of his remaining years. In 1850 he ventured to return to London, where he died a lonely and terrible death at Fenton's Hotel, in St. James' Street. He left a will. Feeling how much he himself had suffered for want of proper training in youth, he desired to save boys of his class from similar dangers. He therefore directed that all his property should be applied to founding a school at Sardhana for boys of mixed parentage, the palace forming the nucleus of the necessary building. To ensure the proving of the will, he made the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors his executors, with legacies of £10,000 a piece, but to no purpose. Though these gentlemen fought the case gallantly up to the Queen in Council, the will was negatived in every Court, as that of a lunatic; and the whole property devolved upon the widow, as sole heir at law. This lady subsequently married the Hon'ble Cecil Forester, who became Lord Forester by the death of his brother; and by this strange course of events the estate acquired by Sombre and the Begum is now held by an English Peer.

It will be understood that we are dealing with the house and grounds, the personal and funded property, and the rights and responsibilities thereto appertaining. The landed estate was all taken over by the Government, when the fief lapsed by the Begum's death more than forty years ago. But Lady Forester still owns the house and grounds, and has a claim to be represented in the management of the endowments made by the late Mr. Dyce Sombre in pursuance of the will of his adoptive grandmother, the Begum.

It is therefore proper to conclude this brief notice with some description of the house and adjoining institutions.

The centre of attraction, to most persons, will be the "Palace," or *Dilkushā Kothī*, a fine house in the Anglo-Indian style, completed by the Begum about two years before her death. The house stands in a vast enclosed garden, and is raised upon a basement eleven feet in height. You enter the front portico by a wide flight of steps with a masonry parapet on either side, which makes a somewhat uncomfortable approach in weather that is either very hot or very wet; but the aspect is undoubtedly grandiose and imposing. This portico, or verandah, looks north, like Horace's. It is on a vast scale, and the landing of the staircase projects. Parallel to the projection is a hall 42ft. by 36, from which, on three sides, open the various apartments. A winding staircase, which bears marks of having once been carpeted, leads to the Begum's private chamber, while a smaller staircase leads to somewhat similar rooms on the other side of the storey.

At the back a court-yard, now turned into a garden, contains minor suites. The whole facade is about 150ft. in length, and opens on four principal sitting-rooms, besides the central hall. Bed-rooms are in rear.

Of these rooms the central and eastern contain some five-and-twenty oil paintings of various dates and different degrees of merit. Beginning with the eastern extremity, which we will call saloon No. 1—the first picture is an enormous equestrian portrait of General Sir David Ochterlony, firmly and boldly designed and painted. This picture came from Delhi, where it hung in the Begum's house—now the Delhi and London Bank—and is probably the work of Beechey, an artist of local celebrity, who lived at Lucknow in the early part of the century. Turning to the left, we find a life-size half-length of General Cartwright, long the father of the Bengal army. Next come Baron Solaroli and Col. J. R. Tronp, the husbands of Dyce Sombre's sisters, each of whom got £20,000 under the Begum's will. Over the mantel-piece is a full-length of Dyce Sombre in a sort of court-dress, with the insignia of the Papal Order of Christ. This was painted at Rome, and possesses the technical dexterity of the modern Roman school; the head is much idealised. It is flanked by some small prints—out of place at such an elevation—and among them is a curious stiff coloured drawing, apparently by a native, in which the Begum is represented receiving Lord Combermere after the fall of Bhurtpore. On the next and last side of the room hang half-lengths of General Ventura and General Allard, officers in the service of Runjeet Singh of Lahore, who helped to make the formidable "Khalsa" army which gave Lord Gough so much trouble. The last is Father John Murray, once incumbent of the Church.

In saloon No. 2—are a small full-length of Lord Combermere, with half-lengths of Colonel Lawton, Father Julius Cæsar—afterwards Bishop; Colonel Stewart, Bengal Artillery, Quartermaster Rogers, Colonel R. Boileau, Bengal Artillery, Dr. Thomas Drever (mispelt "Driver" under the frame), and one labelled as "Sir Charles—afterwards Lord Metcalfe—" which is probably that of his brother, formerly Commissioner of Delhi.

The central hall, opposite the entrance, has in the centre a large portrait of the Begum, life size, seated on a sort of throne and smoking the *hookah*. This is an ambitious piece of colouring, not too well finished, by an artist of Delhi, named Melville, who also painted the pictures of Tronp and Solaroli in No. 1. Next to the Begum hangs a well painted head and bust of a debauched looking man in a kincob dress, with a skull-cap thrown over the left brow. This is John Thomas, son of the famous George Thomas, who left his family to the care of the Begum when he

was overthrown by the Malharrattas under Bourquien in 1800. The next picture is that of John Thomas' father-in-law, Aga Wanus. Then comes a small daub, representing an officer, named Derridon who held a command at Aligarh under Perron, whose daughter he married. Then come two groups, one showing Dyce Sombre as a child in the Begum's presence, the other, the Begum offering a chalice to the Church. Then comes Major Begholini, by whom both Church and Palace were designed; then half-lengths of General Ochterlony and Dyce Sombre. All these pictures, as well as such of the remainder as have not been attributed to other artists above, are said to be by Jiwan Rām, a very celebrated native painter. Mural slabs in English and Urdu commemorate the Begum's charities on the wall below her full-length portrait.

On issuing from the park-gate, the visitor can turn to the right, where to the west of the Palace he will find the Camera, or country house, which was the Begum's last residence before the present Palace was built. Proceeding in a southerly direction, he will pass an old garden-house where she lived when she first settled at Sandhana, protected by the guns of the adjoining fort, of which nothing is now visible, but the remains of some large earth-works. Going on in the same direction, he will find the cemetery at present much neglected and choked with bushes and high grass. The principal tomb is a large domed building to the memory of Julia Anne, daughter of Zafuryab Khān or Aloysius Balthazar Reinhardt, the son of Sombre, whose temporary deposition of the Begum has been described above. This lady died in 1820, the wife of G. A. D. Dyce and mother of Mr. Dyce Sombre. In the very centre of the enclosure a platform with a screen marks the resting place of poor LeVassault,* with an inscription in French, recording that he died 18th October 1795, "agé de 47 ans," and begging the passenger to "prier pour son âme." In Persian his native title is added underneath, with the date 4 Rabi-us-Sani, 12—? The inscription is much decayed and partly illegible. From the cemetery a walk through the town conducts us to the Church consecrated by Monsignor Pezzoni, Vicar Apostolic of Hindustan, on 20th December 1829, and dedicated to the Virgin. The principal façade of this building is 170 feet long, and the height of the main elevation 45 feet. It is surmounted by a central dome 155 feet in height, and two spires at the East end rise to a height of 170 feet. The interior is paved with marble and decorated with stucco mouldings. In the back of the Northern transept stands a white marble group by Tadolini,

* So spelt here! But the ignorance shown in the inscriptions is amazing. In a mural tablet in the church Aloysius Reinhardt is rendered "Louis Reyand"

of Rome, erected by Mr. Dyce Sombre to the memory of his benefactress. It is pyramidal in character, and, allowing for the difficulties of the subject, is a very fine work. At the base sit figures, allegorising the virtues of the deceased ; and on the plinth are panels showing in high relief the state of Her Highness in Darbar, in Church, and at the head of her troops,* At the four corners stand figures, representing a Priest, a Persian writer, Dyce Sombre in a General's uniform, and a native officer of cavalry. The whole is surmounted by a statue of Her Highness, in the act of administering justice; all the figures being large life-size. Panels on the upper sides express in Latin and English, the inability of the founder to set forth duly the virtues and talents of the departed. At the foot rest his own poor bones, covered by a slab, giving the dates of his birth (1808)—marriage (1840)—and death (1851). Looking at these monuments, one can hardly fail to be forcibly impressed by a sense of the extraordinary vicissitudes which human life sometimes presents.

On the walls of chapels, on either side of the nave, will be found a few mural tablets. One is in memory of the wife of Aloysius, otherwise Zafaryab, the daughter of a Colonel Lefevre, who died in 1815. Another is a repetition of the epitaph of her daughter, whose tomb in the cemetery has been already mentioned.

Facing the Church—sometimes, but incorrectly called a “Cathedral”—is a house once inhabited by the Begum, and now appropriated to purposes of education. We have already seen that, under instructions in the will, Mr. Dyce Sombre had made a deed of trust for the foundation of a seminary for the training of Priests. This scheme has broken down, and the institution is now a mere school for Native Christians, in which about 150 boys are taught the elements of Catholic Christianity, through the medium of the Hindee and Urdu languages, and are employed in various useful handicrafts. The translations of the New Testament, of the Missal, and of the other books used in the school, are printed by the pupils from types cast on the premises ; there are likewise looms, forges, &c., and a factory of excellent macaroni and vermicelli. The whole is actively and intelligently supervised by the Rev. F. Angelo, the resident Priest. A similar establishment for girls is carried on by the Sisters residing in the Convent attached to the Church.

These establishments have been lately a good deal hampered by disputes as to the administration of the trusts, into which there is no occasion here to enter. The matter is understood to be in train of adjustment.

Thus, in the extraordinary course of events, the fortune founded

* The fourth panel rests against the back walls and is no doubt blank.

by a soldier of fortune and a dancing-girl, has been shared between the Pope of Rome and an English nobleman.

It only now remains to glance briefly at the condition of the estate as it now exists.

It has been already mentioned that the lands about Sardhana were originally assigned to Sombre and afterwards confirmed to the Begum for the maintenance of the brigade, over and above some further groups of villages beyond the Jamna. Leaving these last out of the account, it was estimated that the lands specially appertaining to Sardhana yielded a revenue of six lakhs—say £60,000 a year. On the Begum's decease the brigade was broken up, and the lands were assessed to the public fisc. At that time Mr. Trevor Plowden, the revenue-officer deputed for the purpose, examined the accounts and found that the Begum's assessments were made from year to year (which is, in theory at least, a reasonable arrangement), and they usually ran about 33 per cent. higher than those on similar lands on the British side of the border. But since, in those days, the British themselves professed to take 75 per cent. of the nett produce, it would seem that not much profit could have been possibly left to the Begum's farmers. The total of the assessment for the year amounted to nearly seven lakhs, which Mr. Plowden at once reduced to little more than five. At the same time, he remitted all the cesses and imposts on traffic and factories, of which some had been very high.

It was stated shortly before the Begum's death, by a competent observer (H. M. Elliot, in the *Meerut Universal Magazine*) that under the Begum's strict system, so little was to be made by agriculture, that the tenantry were constantly running away into British territory, and the presence of armed soldiers in the fields was sometimes necessary to keep the ploughmen at their work. To aid them in their operations, the tenantry could obtain advances from their mistress; but she insisted on being re-paid within the year with interest at the rate of 24 per cent.

Nothing can more strongly illustrate the remarkable differences between human nature under different conditions than the success during a period of half a century of this system, which to us appears so monstrously uncivilised. "To maintain it" concludes Mr. Plowden "required much tact, and with the energy of the Begum's administration, this was not wanting; but when her increasing age and infirmities devolved the uncontrolled management on her heirs, the factitious nature of her system was clearly demonstrated." At this time one-third of the fief had fallen under direct management; but the introduction of British administration speedily redressed the balance. The absentees returned;

population yielded the natural increase which is to be expected when all goes fairly well with people like Hindustanis ; and this part of the report concludes with the following boast, which subsequent events have fully justified:—

“ Nothing in fact could more satisfactorily have shown the estimation in which the British rule is held by those who do not enjoy its blessings than the rapid return of the population to their homes, which followed immediately on the lapse.”

This, it is to be remembered, is a contrast drawn with a fief in the heart of our own provinces, as swayed, in quite recent times, by a ruler of Christian creed, desirous of British friendship. We often hear complaints of the state of the agriculturists in Hindustan and other parts of India ; but they require to be softened by such comparisons. Undoubtedly the introduction of law and order into a country so thoroughly demoralised as was Hindustan in the last century, must have its drawbacks ; for the habits of men cannot be altered as rapidly as their institutions. But some, at least, of the sufferings thus caused are no more than the “growing-pains” of a new social system. What is certain about Sardhana is that British rule has benefited the population ; wages have since increased about 150 per cent., the lower classes have become free and independent ; in one *pargana* (fiscal union) alone nine thousand acres have been added to the cultivated area ; and the Government demand now falls at the moderate average of two rupees, nine annas per acre.

These details may appear uninteresting ; they are given to show:—

1.—That native management, even under favourable conditions, is harsher and more oppressive than that of the British, and

2.—That in spite of the inherent difficulty of the question, the British system contains the elements of social progress.

The Begum was a woman of exceptional qualities ; her system, however, was not spontaneous or progressive. In feebler hands it would have broken down. The five *parganas* which formed the fief, were going from bad to worse at her death ; they are now among the most prosperous parts of Northern India.

Such in brief, is a sketch of the Sombre estate ; and it may be taken as a sample of what would have gone on all over Hindustan, if the decrepitude of the Mughal Empire had been prolonged like that of the adjoining monarchies of Persia and Afghanistan.

NOTE.

This tenure has formed the subject-matter of protracted litigation, during which the facts have become somewhat obscured ; in part by careless and inaccurate phrasing, in a greater degree, probably, by interested misrepresentation. In the actual origin of the several grants there does not really appear to have been much difference. They are sometimes called *Jaigir*, sometimes *Jaidâd* ; and in the lands on the right bank of the Jumna, two patents from the Court of Delhi, of the year 1793, were exhibited, in which those lands are stated to have been granted in *Altamgha Jaigir*. As a matter of curiosity, the meaning of these words shall be given so far as it can be ascertained, but it must be added that the question has no practical importance. The whole of the holdings at the time of the Begum's death, depended upon the will of the British Government ; and it has been ruled that their resumption was an act of sovereign policy and power over which the courts have no jurisdiction.

Jaigir, then, means a grant or fief, held rather by way of pension for past service than of pay for present. But both senses seem to be capable of comprehension in the word, according to the unscientific usage of recent Asiatic administrations.

Jaidâd in custom implies an assignment for present service, and for the pay of the establishments needful for it. The word literally means "landed estate" or "property," and the more accurate word for what it usually indicates would be *Tankwah Jaigir*, or "service fief." Both tenures were nominally hereditary ; but even when expressly made so by the patent, were commonly escheated on the owner's death. This was in the spirit of Mahomedan polity which does not favour the devolution of power or privilege by succession or the creation of a patrician order. I have shown elsewhere that the Mughals always carried this out in the palmy days of their Empire (*Turks in India*, page 160 and elsewhere).

(*Altamgha*) is "a sealed charter:" the "seal" (*Tamgha*) was, according to Meninski, the Turkish expression for a Government stamp used to guarantee the genuineness of a document. In practice, during the predominance of Turkish rule in India, the word meant a patent under the great seal, conveying a grant of land in heritable tenure. But at the time when the Begum got the patent for Bâdshâhpur, the Empire had practically passed away ; and any one having access to the great seal might use it as it pleased him, without affecting the real conditions on which the property was held.

And, as a matter of fact, the Begum lost the trans-Jumna part of the Sombre estate, even supposing the patents of 1793 to have made them heritable. They were conquered by the British in

1803 before any treaty had been concluded with Her Highness. In December of that year, Lord Lake re-granted them as *Jaigir*, by way of compensation for the Begum resigning the lands on the left bank of the river (Sardhana and the connected land). And so, when these latter were in turn restored to her, she was guaranteed in a life-tenure of them without mention of the trans-Jumna estates which had been already granted, as above stated (Lord Wellesley's letter to Begum, December 22nd 1803; *apud D. Sombre's Refutation*, p. 414.)

Thus eventually, all alike came to be held under the British Government, by the same tenure, that is to say, as *Jaigir* or pensionary grant, resumable at the death of the beneficiary. During her long life, her savings from the usufruct amounted to more than half a million of British money, which she made over to Dyce Sombre, subject to the trusts mentioned in the text.

This is not the place for a complete history of the litigation as to these questions. It will be found summed up in the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, dated 11th May 1872, when it was ruled that the Begum had never been a sovereign-princess, but a mere holder of *Jâidâd*, holding a *Jaigir* under obligation to keep up a body of troops to be employed when called upon by the Sovereign; which tenure determined at her death by a legal act of resumption on the part of the East India Company on whom the sovereign power had devolved.

It was further held that there had been no *Altamgha* title in the Begum, who appeared to have had a patent fabricated during the unsuccessful rebellion of Zafaryâb Khan, in whose name the lands west of the Jumna had formerly stood. This instrument bore the seal of Mâhdaji Sindhia, who had died in the beginning of the previous year, and not the great seal of the Empire, nor even that of the new Siudhia, Daulat Rao. (II. P. C. 629.)

H. G. KEENE.

ART. IV.—BRAHMANISM AND CHRISTIANITY AS THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE.

(Independent Section.)

THE philosophy of Edward Von Hartmann, is to some extent, known to English readers through articles in reviews, and more especially through Mr. James Sully's work on Pessimism, where it is criticised from the standpoint of English Agnosticism. Whether, or not, we agree with that writer in regarding it as devoid of any real scientific basis, we cannot but admit the importance of a system which has gained such numerous adherents among educated Germans. Many who have lost faith in the old creed of Christendom, have found in these speculations that spiritual consolation, without which they are unable to rest content. Von Hartmann has undoubtedly grasped the philosophical ideas of the age, put them in a form comprehensible to the ordinary man of education, and succeeded in producing a system which seems capable, to some extent, of supplying the place vacated by Christianity.

We do not propose to give any general account of his philosophy, nor to enter into the controversy between the Agnostics and the metaphysicians.

There is, however, one of his smaller works, which has a special interest for us in India,—that entitled "The Spontaneous Dissolution of Christianity and the Religion of the Future."* Recognising men's need for some religion, to be absolute, he inquires whether any modification of Christianity can supply it. A negative answer is the result of this inquiry; he therefore proceeds to examine the historical development of religion, to discover whence we may expect a religion to arise, suited to the condition of modern times. Thus he finds in a synthesis of the Christian and Brahmanical systems.

We propose, therefore, to give a short account of that part of his book which is devoted to the fusion of these two antagonistic systems, adding such remarks as seem required to show the relative position occupied by these speculations.

The prospects of religion in Europe must cause grave anxiety to those who realise at the same time the urgent need there is of some religion and the impossibility of abandoning science. The result of the Protestant principle has been to undermine

* "Die Selbstsetzung des Christenthums und die Religion der Zukunft," 2nd Edition: Berlin, 1874.

every part of the fabric of the Christian faith, and the time cannot be far distant when Protestantism, as a religion must disappear. Moreover, Protestant science has not only nothing to offer in the place of the old creed, but even denies the existence of the very foundation on which a creed must be constructed. On the other hand, the Roman Church, realising more clearly than ever that any reconciliation between itself and science is impossible, places itself in an attitude of the strongest antagonism to modern thought. It must, then, seem to many religious minds in Europe, that there is no alternative between the entire abandonment of religion, and the shackling of our cherished freedom of research in the chains of Roman authority.

A little consideration will, however, show that the essential elements of religion need not succumb before the progress of science, though Christianity itself may.

Mr. Herbert Spencer has, in his *First Principles*, attempted to effect a reconciliation between religion and science. I do not, however, think the result is adapted to afford comfort to the religious mind, however satisfactory it may be to the man of science. Mr. Spencer insists strongly on the indestructibility of our belief in the unknowable reality behind phenomena, showing it to be the most firmly rooted of all our beliefs. But he equally insists that our knowledge is necessarily confined to the phenomenal, and, therefore, we can know nothing whatever of the very things with which religion is occupied. He shows, moreover, that any knowledge of the metaphysical reality is, as a matter of fact, not needed by us, for in so far as we are *affected* by it, we are capable of attaining all the knowledge we require; in other words, where the unknowable concerns us, we can know it as phenomena, and where it is not phenomenal, it does not concern us. Hence, obviously, no sensible person should occupy himself with anything beyond the world of phenomena: any thought for religious matters is entirely superfluous.

The result is, thus, the negation of the root-idea of religion. This does not consist in the simple recognition of the reality of metaphysical existence, but in the conception of that existence, as to some extent knowable, and related to us otherwise than as it appears in phenomena. Hence, the agnostic system is practically as destructive of religion as the materialistic. Thus, at bottom, the antagonism of religion and science lies in the antagonism between the metaphysical and the materialistic, or agnostic, systems. Whether, or not, the root-conception of religion is justifiable, must of course be decided by scientific methods; and to assume that science is destructive of religion, is really nothing else than to assume that the controversy has been closed in favour of

the agnostics, or materialists—an assumption which none but the latter themselves would admit.

In the work now under review, Hartmann does not enter into this controversy, to which, indeed, his principal works on the fundamental questions of metaphysics are devoted. Assuming the existence of metaphysical reality, and that we are able to obtain some knowledge of its nature, he finds the need men have of religion to be a fact, and inquires how far the present forms of religion are fitted to supply this need, and how it may be supplied.

He agrees with his predecessor, Schopenhauer, in regarding religion as metaphysical knowledge in a form adapted to the comprehension of the people; it is a popular exposition of the nature of the spiritual world, with directions for conduct in relation thereto. Since the spiritual world exists and affects us, we are much concerned to acquire correct knowledge of it to guide us. Now, but few are capable of estimating the weight of scientific reasons, and hence, authority must, even in phenomenal science, always remain the ground the majority have for accepting the results of scientific inquiry, where these results are incapable of being practically tested. That the earth, in its course round the sun, describes an ellipse, and that the axis of its rotation is oblique to the plane of the ecliptic, are facts received entirely on authority, except by comparatively few. If the results, then, of physical science are necessarily accepted on authority, still more must those of metaphysics, in which the problems themselves and the conditions of their solution are so extremely difficult to grasp, be so accepted. Hence, whatever metaphysical knowledge the people need, must be accepted by them simply on authority. But the abstract form in which the results of philosophy are presented, is especially unsuited to impress the ordinary understanding and to influence action, and any attempt to bring philosophical truths home to the people in scientific shape must necessarily end in failure.

The need man feels for spiritual teaching is, however, urgent. The problem of life oppresses him; he cannot avoid, in some lucid intervals, asking whence he came, and whither he is bound. Is death the end of all things for him, or is there not a continuance of his personality after death? Is there no help for him amidst the iron wheels of natural law, which crush him, and tear away that which alone gives value to life? Is there no spirit behind Nature which will aid him in his helplessness and misery?

Moreover, according to Hartmann, this need for spiritual knowledge must increase as civilisation advances. Its source lies in the very nature of life, "in the need felt by mankind to explain the existence of evil and sin, and if possible, overcome them. It

is discontent with this world, arising from a recognition of evils to be suffered and a nature prone to sin, which leads to religion" (p. 87). This recognition of evil, as a necessary concomitant of life, must become more vivid in proportion to that higher development of consciousness, to which evolution is unmistakeably tending. "The more completely men adapt to their wants the forces of nature, the more fully they will realise the impossibility of overcoming thereby the evils of life and attaining happiness, or even contentment. Optimism may be the prevailing sentiment during a period of material progress, so long as men can cherish the idea of attaining happiness on reaching some wished-for goal; but this goal reached, they find themselves no happier than before, and their gnawing wants more keen than ever. Optimism is a mere interlude occurring in a nation during a stage of material progress. Whenever men are able to rest and contemplate their condition, the fundamental conviction of pessimism emerges, and with greater strength after each stage of material progress. Hence, when mankind has obtained all that civilisation can afford, and realises the complete vanity of the highest attainable worldly good, then the religious question must become the one burning question of all." (p. 96.)

But there is also a practical need for religious teaching, inasmuch as there can be no system of genuine morality, except on a metaphysical basis. "The prudential system founded on egoism is but a false morality, which, indeed, is hardly put forward otherwise than as a substitute for the reality regarded as impossible." (p. 117.) "Without a basis in metaphysics, rules of conduct may be indeed laid down, but no real objection can be made to any one who does not find them to his taste. We may construct a natural history of human inclinations and motives with reference to their consequences to society; but no sanction to morality is possible, which may not be disputed by the boundless selfishness of the individual. Genuine ethics, that is the science of conduct as requiring correction, cannot dispense with a metaphysical foundation." (p. 84.)

Lastly, religion is indispensable to keep alive in the people a sense of the reality of the spiritual world. "Its rites and ceremonies are required to excite and maintain the religious emotions arising from spiritual ideas, and to hold up before the people an ideal. Art reaches them in a form too crude to excite an artistic ideal. It is religion alone that impresses upon them that there is something higher than eating drinking, and breeding; that this world of sense is not everything, but in very deed a mere appearance, the shadow, as it were, of the eternal, spiritual and ideal, seen through the mist. To keep alive the consciousness of this, is the

aim of all religions which have risen above primitive nature worship." (p. 71.)

It is clear, then, that under no circumstances can religion be dispensed with, nay, more,—the need for it must increase with the progress of civilisation. The question, then, is whether any modification of Christianity is suited to supply this need, and if not, in what direction we must look for the religion of the future. In treating of this, Hartmann does not address himself to the polemics of religion, that is, to an examination of the evidences for its truth. The discussion is only addressed to those who have left behind them the criticism of these evidences.

He starts with the assumption that no religion can be accepted unless its teachings are congruous with the results of modern science. The first condition, then, is that its metaphysical postulates shall harmonise with the doctrines of modern metaphysics. These doctrines, it need scarcely be said, Hartmann considers to be essentially those set forth in his own system, the latest result of German metaphysical inquiry. The central idea is that of pantheism, or as he prefers to call it, spiritual monism. The world of phenomena is regarded as the manifestation of one spiritual substance. Under all the variety of phenomena, under the innumerable individuals, is the *one* impersonal spirit, whence they all take their rise, and which is *immanent* in them.

The second condition for a permanent religion is, that its ethical system must be free from any egoistic element; the will must be determined to moral action purely by the laws of its own nature.

Now if we turn to Christianity, we find it alien to modern thought in these two essential points,—in its theism and its morality resulting therefrom. "The anthropomorphism inseparable from all theism renders it unacceptable; and from this anthropomorphism Christianity cannot free itself so long as it retains the dogma of the personality of God. A transcendent God, standing outside of, and governing the world, is a conception which it has become impossible for modern thought to entertain; the belief in an immanent God alone can find acceptance. From the theistic conception, there results, in the sphere of ethics, a completely heteronomous moral law, wherein morality is reduced to blind obedience to the will of God. It has, however, become quite clear to the modern conscience that actions performed only from obedience to commands of an extraneous will, can have in the strict sense, no moral worth whatever." (p. 28). "All genuine morality must be founded on self-abnegation; and modern thought demands the complete elimination from morals of every egoistic element, however subtle." (p. 115.)

Hartmann examines in some detail the principal of the recent modifications of Christianity, which Protestantism has put forward as adapted to modern times, and devotes a large part of his book to the latest development, that known in Germany as the school of liberal Protestantism. He shows how each of these contains essential elements antagonistic to modern thought. Into these details, however, we need not here follow him. The above suffices to show generally the position he occupies in relation to Christianity. He finds it impossible that any form which Christianity can assume, should be in harmony with our present scientific culture, and proceeds to inquire whence the required religion may probably be derived. The following is the substance of his speculations.

As already noted, he considers that the basis of a true religion must consist in the belief that there is one spiritual entity immanent in the world, which, in all its variety, is but its manifestation. This involves three assertions: (1) that in Nature we have many distinct individuals; (2) that these are the forms of an immanent spirit; and (3) that this spirit is one.

Hartmann considers that in primitive religion the object of worship was immanent: it was one or more of the forces of nature, not separated from their manifestations, as a man is separated from the object he moves, but in nature itself. Men, however, attempted to explain these forces by assimilating them to human action upon nature; and though these anthropomorphic explanations were doubtless originally only symbolical, they gradually crystallised into realities, taking the forms of a number of different personalities, each with a distinct sphere of action upon nature. The objects of worship then ceased to be *immanent* in nature, and became beings *external* to it. A variegated polytheism arose, and with it were lost the idea of the immanence, and the unity also, which the primitive worshipper had probably felt vaguely in times of religious exaltation. This corruption of the purer primitive belief arose from the persistent tendency of the sensuous element in the mind to humanise the divine. Religious progress consists mainly in the checking of this tendency and bringing into clearer light the elements of true religion above indicated.

There are two main courses of religious evolution: that arising from a Jewish, and that arising from a Hindu source. The problem for each has been the same, *viz.*, the purification of religion from polytheism; but each has adopted a different procedure, and has failed in arriving at truth from neglect of the side which has been the strength of the other.

Hinduism learnt to regard its numerous gods as the modes

under which the one impersonal Brahm revealed itself, and thus restored the immanence and the unity amidst the multiplicity of individuals. Unfortunately, however, popular fancy attached itself exclusively to the *many* manifestations, and though the doctrine of *one* impersonal God was theoretically acknowledged, it remained without influence on the people, who consequently continued to be practically polytheists. Buddhism was an attempt to eradicate this polytheism by a popularisation of the doctrines of the Vedānta and Sāṅkya philosophy. It, however, not only rejected the gods, but the conception of the divine substance itself, underlying them and all things. Founded on an erroneous theory of cognition, it overlooked the necessity of inferring reality under phenomena, and reduced the world to nothing but a web of fancy. Such an abstraction naturally resulted in a revival of polytheism, commencing with the deification of the Buddha and the conversion of Nirvāna into a paradise of positive delight.

The Jews, on the other hand, chose one of a numerous pantheon to be the God of their race; but they regarded him only as stronger, not as more real, than the gods of other tribes. As, however, their consciousness of national dignity increased, so did their pride in their God; and they raised him to the rank of creator of all things, depreciating his rivals to the position of mere demons and false gods. The unity of God thus became a central dogma in a form so well adapted to the understanding of the people, that it was capable of being the object of religious fanaticism for whole nations. But though the unity of the divinity was thus vividly realised, it was in a form which could not be combined with the attribute of the immanence; for that cannot be united to the conception of a personal God.

Thus Hinduism raised itself from polytheism by the conception of a single power of which nature is the ceaseless manifestation; while Judaism attained the same end by the conception of a personal God, standing apart from the world he had created. But Hinduism was unable to realise the attribute of the unity in a form comprehensible to the laity; and Judaism could only attain the dogma of the unity at the expense of the attribute of immanence. Popular Hinduism, while maintaining the continual connexion between the one immanent power and its manifold revelation in nature, lost itself in a maze of polytheism, arising from the deification of each separate form in the manifold. Judaism on the other hand, could only maintain the unity by severing the connexion of its Divinity and the world after the one creative act. Hence, we see, that each is weak in that element in which the other is strong; and that a true religion must

consist in a synthesis of these two great streams of religious evolution.

Properly regarded, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity is an attempt at such a fusion.

When first Christianity spread among the nations of the Mediterranean basin, the Christian God seemed to them but one among the many gods imported from the East. When, however, they realised the inflexible character of Jewish monotheism, a reaction followed, which resulted in the destruction of monotheism by means of the doctrine of the Trinity. The problem for Christian theology then became, to reconcile this with the dogma of the unity. A similar problem had been solved by the Hindus by the recognition of the three persons of their Trinity as merely different forms of the one impersonal Brahm. But such a solution as this was impossible for the Christians, in whose creed the personal God of the Jews, who had made man in his own image, was too deeply rooted. Neither of the three *persons*, nor a fourth *person*, could effect the identification of the three: this could only be done through one *impersonal* Being of which the three persons are modes; a procedure which deprives the three of the attribute of divinity by transferring it to the impersonal reality. The attempt at a reconciliation therefore necessarily failed, but the doctrine of the Incarnation, by bringing *into* nature the personal God placed outside, showed at least how men ought to be united to God.

"There is a deep metaphysical meaning in the doctrine of the Trinity, which our rationalistic Protestants have overlooked. In striking out two persons from the Trinity, they have simply returned to the crude Jewish conception of a God, existing far from the sphere of humanity, to which the Christian doctrine had at least approximated him. They should have held fast by the idea that man should be united to God as the three persons of the Trinity are united in one essence. They would have then found themselves compelled to abandon their anthropomorphic personification of the Deity, and recognised the immanence of the one impersonal Godhead throughout the whole world of phenomena. Thus might have been realised a God no longer severed from humanity by his personality, and a pantheism undefiled by any trace of polytheism." (p. 108.) In the tendency of the Trinitarian controversy is indicated the course to be pursued by religious evolution. "Our idea of the Divinity must be purified from every trace of human attributes and personality. The unity must be as strongly insisted on as by the Jews and Mahomedans; but this unity must be conceived, as it is by the Brahmanical religion, as the unity of the one immanent power revealing

itself under all the varied shapes of the phenomenal world." (p. 109.)

The influence of Asian thought upon Semitic Christianity has tended to bring about this synthesis. The medium through which it has acted, has been philosophy; first the Grecian philosophy, as modified in Egypt, and recently the philosophy of Germany. To the first we owe the doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos, and the attempt to find the unity underlying the three persons of the Trinity. In our times has appeared the philosophy of Hegel, "wherein the postulate of the divine immanence is developed into a sublime system. The incarnate logos of St. John is regarded as determining man in proportion as he has become conscious of the Divine immanence. Schopenhauer, on the other hand, has restored the dreamy subjective idealism of the Vedānta and Buddhist teaching, and above all, the deep reaching pessimism of the latter, its ethical system and doctrine of Nirvāṇa. Thus has philosophy, preceding religious evolution, brought home to modern thought the more or less serviceable elements of the Indian religions, and prepared the way for its fusion with Christianity. The future task of German philosophy is the completion of this synthesis. The disconnected ideas from the Indian religions, partially realised by Hegel, Schelling and Schopenhauer, have to be combined into a systematic whole with the results of modern thought, and so much of Christianity as may eventually remain tenable. Metaphysical ideas will be thus realised, which, filtering into the deeper strata of national consciousness, will prepare the ground for the development of new religious life. It has been the error of all previous philosophy to assume the absolute truth of one particular religion and to undertake its demonstration. It was thus Hegel treated of Christianity and Schopenhauer of 'the venerable religion of Asia, the primitive religion of mankind.' A more advanced criticism shows the perversity of this procedure, and demands that a philosophy of religion should indicate the elements of all religions which are tenable, and capable of producing further religious evolution." (p. 110.)

The tendency to pantheism among the Germans is unmistakable, and Heinrich Heine has declared it to be already their concealed religion. But, in assimilating it, they have added an element from the Semitic beliefs which distinguishes it widely from Indian pantheism. In common with the Jews, Christians and Mahomedans, they accept as *real* the facts of history and evolution. Indian pantheism is joined to a belief in subjective idealism, which reduces the objectively real appearance of the absolute to a mere mental image,—the whole course of history and evolution to a mere web spun by the brain. The necessary result has been the inculcation

of apathetic quietism, a system, indeed, adapted to the dreamy character of the Hindu race. From this we are preserved by our belief in the *reality* of evolution. Though we agree with the Buddhist religion in regarding existence as necessarily miserable, yet we perceive that there is a real process of evolution continuing, of which we are ourselves a part, and that all our activities are required for the rapid furtherance of this process, which has for its goal our deliverance through the higher development of consciousness.

Contemporary thought finds the basis for ethics in concessions more allied to the Indian than the Christian systems.

Christianity, though decidedly pessimist in its view of the present life, assumes individual immortality in another sphere, where existence is to be completely desirable. "Thus its pessimist attitude is maintained merely for a relatively transient moment, while it regards as positive individual felicity for eternity" (p. 115). "It thus gives to egoism a metaphysical support, so delicate as to be especially dangerous to genuine morality." We have already noted the incompatibility of Theism and morality. "Christianity further commits the mistake of regarding individual sin as inherited, and supposing purification can be obtained by the act of another, *viz*, salvation through Christ. But sin in the individual can result from his own acts alone, and purification can be obtained only by progressive moral improvement resulting from personal efforts, and not by any desert of another or Pauline new birth (p. 120)."

Pantheism, on the other hand, furnishes the strongest basis for morals. "It shows to the individual his identity with all others in the universal substance, and that to hurt another is to hurt himself. It gives the real foundation of sympathy and charity and the instinctive morality based on these feelings. Hence we have to look to the Buddhist system, rather than the Christian, for the moral elements of the religion of the future.

Modern thought is, moreover, essentially antagonistic to the Christian doctrine of individual immortality, on account of its optimism, for it concurs with Buddhism in regarding existence under any possible condition as necessarily miserable. We can recognise, "but one longing for the individual,—to be liberated from the heavy duty of working in the process of evolution and to sink into Brahman as a bubble in the ocean, to be extinguished as a light in the wind, and to be born no more. Such is the expression of the yearning of the pure religious spirit: it seeks, not happiness, but peace, but is ready to fulfil its duty as an individual until the hour of union with the universal spirit arrives. In place of the pernicious belief in individual immor

talities, Pantheism offers to the religious soul the consolation of seeing all things as the manifestation of the divinity in which they will be again united (p. 115)."

Hartmann closes his little book with a few remarks regarding the ceremonial observances of the future religion. He remarks that when a religion has become incapable of exciting emotions by its ideas, it seeks to recover its lost power by the impressiveness of its ceremonies. It has been the object of every religious reformer to impress upon mankind the worthlessness of these ceremonies, and to inculcate the religion of the heart. Thus Jesus reduced all essential religious rites to the single one of prayer, and, indeed, of solitary prayer. The course of evolution will, Hartmann thinks, probably continue in the same direction, and the religious ceremonies of the future consist in emotional exercises without any external formalities. It is here that Pantheism will show its capacity of exciting the religious emotion down to the greatest depth. "The Pantheist feels himself one with his God, and eternally inseparable from him. It was this insight which the mystics sought; but they were debarred from it by their conception of a personal transcendent God, between whom and themselves was a gulf which no personal mediator could bridge over. Pantheism renders superfluous that dialogue with God, which in Theism gives a mournful succour to an incomplete unity; it transforms the duality of persons in prayer into a unity transcending the conditions of dialogue and affording a far deeper satisfaction to the heart. (p. 116)."

We may conclude with the following quotation with which Hartmann sums up his survey: — "Looking to the course of history, we find that the religion of the future must be realised through a synthesis of the Hindu and Judæo-Christian phases of religious thought. It must combine the advantages of both, and thereby become capable of replacing both as a universal religion. Such a pan-monotheistic system would be most in conformity to reason and the best adapted to excite and satisfy the religious sentiments. It would afford the strongest metaphysical support to ethics, and approach nearest to giving that which men seek as truth in religion (p. 121)."

EDMUND WHITE.

ART. V.—THE CITY OF CALCUTTA AND ITS MUNICIPAL CONSTITUTION.

THE history of the origin, growth and municipal constitution of every city must afford matter for interesting and profitable study, not only to its own citizens, but to those of other cities also. It must be interesting, because the records of progress, whether moral, material or intellectual, are of the greatest value to all earnest students of history ; and it must be profitable on account of the practical lessons which thoughtful and intelligent minds may deduce from its pages. The history of Calcutta, the Metropolis, as well as the chief Emporium of Trade of the British Empire in the East, in view of the fact that in less than two centuries this city has risen to its present eminence from absolute insignificance, is one of the most remarkable on record.

A brief review of the circumstances under which the city of Calcutta was founded and gradually rose to its present position, may not be here out of place. On the site of the present town, there were originally only three villages, Calcutta, Gobindpore, and Sootalooty.* The first is supposed to have been situated somewhere near the present Custom House, the second on the southern glaciis of the Fort, and the third a little beyond the Mint. The last-named of the three villages, it is believed, was the point at which the very first local British settlement was made, in the year 1686, by Governor Job Charnock, who, at that time, withdrew the English Factory from Hooghly and transferred it to Sootalooty. About ten or twelve years later, these villages were purchased by the English under the permission of the Nawab of the Province, to whom the annual tribute hitherto paid by them, was continued. In the year 1717 the jurisdiction and influence of the British began to extend, and they were about that time empowered to purchase thirty-eight other towns and villages, along both banks of the River Hooghly. But British rule and influence had yet to undergo a fiery trial before they were firmly established. In the year 1756 was enacted the memorable tragedy of the Black-Hole, when Calcutta was captured from the English by Suraj-ud-Dowlah. Its fate, for some time, trembled in the balance, but Clive promptly avenged the insult and the temporary injury done to British interests, and from the time of the re-capture of Calcutta, and the subsequent battle of Plassey, English supremacy was again

* *Alias* Sootanutti and sometimes Chuttanuti.

in the ascendant, and the prosperity of the new capital assured. Municipal and other local improvements began to be inaugurated and continued rapidly to develop, until, at the present day, Calcutta may claim to take rank with the first cities in the world. The area of the city, inclusive of the Fort and the Esplanade, is about 15,000 bighas, equivalent to nearly 5,037 acres. But if the suburban limits of the town, including Howrah, were taken into account, both the area and the population would probably be more than doubled. It is difficult to determine with precision how much ground was actually covered by the first local English settlement. But the portion which belonged to the Hon'ble the East India Company, a hundred years ago, seems to have been less than half the area of the town at the present day. According to the census of 1876 the population was estimated at 429,535 souls, subdivided according to nationalities as in the following statement, in juxtaposition with which, for the purpose of comparison, we place the returns of the census of 1850 :—

	Census of 1876.	Census of 1850.
Hindoos ...	278,224	274,506
Mahomedans ...	123,556	111,170
Christians ...	23,885	13,086
Others ...	3,870	16,301
Total	<hr/> 429,535 <hr/>	<hr/> 415 063 <hr/>

In an analysis of the race-ratios of the local population, Mr. Beverley states that in regard to *race*, the inhabitants have been arranged in three great classes : Non-Asiatics, Mixed Races, and Asiatics. The Asiatics naturally compose 95 per cent. of the total population ; the Mixed Races are nearly 3 per cent. and Non-Asiatics 2 per cent. Of the Non-Asiatics 9,003 are Europeans, 177 Americans, 56 Africans (chiefly from Zanzibar or Mauritius) and Australasians. Of the Europeans, 7,832 are British ; 370 French ; 216 Germans ; 110 Greeks ; other Continental nations being represented by smaller numbers. Of Spaniards and Portuguese, only those who were born out of India have been classed as Europeans, the rest being included under mixed races, as Indo-Portuguese. The mixed races number 11,373, including 707 Indo-Portuguese. The census returns of 1876, compared with those of 1850, show an increase of hardly 15,000 souls after the lapse of a quarter of a century. Intermediately, two other censuses were taken, one in 1866 and the other in 1872. Of the latter, Mr. Beverley, however, remarks, that “for all practical purposes the census of 1872 was absolutely useless, and might as well never have been taken.” The earliest record of the population is that

of 1,710, when it was approximately estimated at from 10 to 12,000 souls. From that time up to the taking of the first census, various estimates have been hazarded, but they are all apparently more or less conjectural and are consequently unreliable.

A glance at the general character of the dwelling houses, as well as the more important public and other buildings, helps us to form some conception of the material progress and prosperity of cities. Thornton writing of the number of residences in Calcutta in 1850, remarks that they amounted "to 62,565, consisting of 5,950, one-storeyed houses, 6,438 of two-storeys, 721 of three, 10 of four and 1 of five-storeys and 49,445 huts." Mr. Beverley's returns, a quarter of a century later, show what progress has been made. He says that "of the pukka houses 7,037 are one-storeyed; 8,636, two-storeyed; 1,187 three-storeyed; 34 four-storeyed; and 2 five-storeyed." That a very decided progress has been made in this direction, will be seen from a comparison of the foregoing returns. The houses, even in the most fashionable quarters, have generally but little pretension to architectural beauty, and it is therefore difficult to conceive how the appellation of 'City of Palaces' came to be conferred on the town. Some of the principal public buildings, however, may perhaps compare not unfavourably with those of other leading cities. Among the most important may be enumerated the palatial residence of the Viceroy of India. This building was erected in 1804, by the Marquis Wellesley, at a cost of 13 lakhs of rupees, or about £130,000; and probably as much, if not a larger sum of money, has since been expended in improving it. The other public buildings which call for special mention, are the new Imperial Museum; the High and Small Cause Courts; the Post and Telegraph Offices; the Town and Metcalfe Halls; the Medical College and the Municipal Market. To the curious in such matters it will be interesting to compare the progress of the city by collating the maps and plans of the town which have been published from time to time, and are now extant. A plan of Calcutta, prepared in 1756, shews only seventy houses in the entire town; the site of the present fort was at that time a jungle, and the ground now occupied by the fashionable and imposing line of buildings along Chowringhee Road, was then covered with bamboo bush jungle, or paddy field swamps. A plan published thirty years later shews only four houses south of Park Street. The total number of brick built houses alone at the last census (1876) was estimated at 16,896.

The present municipal constitution of Calcutta passed like that of most other cities, through the usual preliminary phases and conditions of an embryonic existence. To trace its growth from

infancy upwards, would be interesting; but to deal with the subject exhaustively, would be impossible in a short paper like this. Something may, however, be done, even within these limits, to elucidate the past history of local municipal institutions, and to place before the public at least its salient and most important features.

About the year 1794, the necessity for framing some kind of a municipal constitution seems to have been recognized for the first time, and an Act of Parliament was then passed, empowering the Governor-General in Council to raise a municipal fund, and to appoint Justices of the Peace. But whether anything further than the passing of this Act was done, is not clear. In 1803, however, the first Municipal Board of which there appears to be any record, was erected by a Resolution, dated 16th June of that year, by Lord Wellesley, who was then Governor-General. Thirty members were appointed to carry out the provisions of this Resolution, which purported to provide for "the health, safety, and convenience of the inhabitants." A few years later, another body, termed the Lottery Committee, was appointed and charged with the specific duty of raising funds which were to be spent on the improvement of the town. Owing to the exertions of this Committee large sums were annually raised by public lotteries. Among other works, the Town Hall, it is said, was "entirely constructed out of the proceeds of such lotteries." In the first year of the inauguration of these lotteries, the sum of Rs. 5,00,000 was raised by the issue of 5,000 tickets of Rs. 1,000 each. Of this number, 4,000 tickets were blanks and 1,000 were prizes. However, in the year 1833, a reactionary tide of feeling against the propriety of raising money by public lotteries seems to have set in, and in that year the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta suggested to Government a scheme for a representative Municipal Board. The great Reform Act had been passed in England the year before, and it is more than probable that its influence was beginning to be felt in India, and suggested the desire for some radical reforms in the Municipal constitution of the Capital. But it was not till 1840 that any practical attempt was made to establish a definite form of Municipal Government, and it was only then that the first local Municipal Act was passed, to regulate the lighting, watering, and cleaning of streets and drains. Subsequently, various other Acts were framed, and the constitution of the Municipality, as well as the laws which governed it, gradually underwent change, until in 1856 the entire management and control of the municipal affairs of the city were vested in a new Board, composed only of three stipendiary members, who were designated Municipal Com-

missioners. That these gentlemen accomplished a great deal for the material advancement and progress of the town, will be admitted. But it fell to their successors to develop and to perfect many schemes which probably had been suggested, if not already anticipated, by this local triumvirate. After the lapse of seven years from their appointment, that is, in the year 1863, further changes were effected, and a new Municipal Act was passed, creating a public body corporate, composed of all the Justices of the Peace for the town, as well as all other Justices of the Peace for Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, who might be resident in Calcutta. The number of members then composing the Corporation of this city, was over one hundred and fifty, or more than double that of the present Corporation. After the existence of nearly a decade and a half, and after, on the whole, a most useful career, they gave place to the Corporation as now constituted. In 1876, the whole Municipal Law was revised and consolidated into a single Act with effect from the 1st of July of that year; and this was followed on the 1st of September by the creation of a new Corporation, whose personnel has, however, recently been changed, as the members hold office only for three years at a time.

Without attempting to follow, step by step, the history of local municipal legislation, through all its stages of incubation and improvement, it will be edifying to notice the general scope and tendency of the law of the present day, and to point out some peculiarities and anomalies which suggest themselves on reflection, and which, under some future legislative revision of the Act, it may be possible to remedy. A general idea of the present state of Municipal law may be gleaned from the opening pages of the published report of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation for 1877. The writer of the Report says:—"In many respects Act IV (B. C.) of 1876 has introduced no material change in the *modus operandi* of the Municipality, but there are some important exceptions. As under the old law, so under the new law the executive staff remains unaltered. As before, so now, it consists of Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Engineer, Health Officer, Collector, Assessor, &c. As before, so now, certain matters are required to be laid before the Commissioners in meeting, and the Chairman is vested with the powers of the Commissioners in other matters which he can, and does, dispose of, without reference to them. As before, so now, the Chairman is appointed and is removeable by Government. But under the old law the appointment and allowances of Secretary, Engineer, Health Officer, Collector, and Assessor were left to the discretion of the Justices, whereas, under the new law the resolutions of the Commissioners in these

matters are subject to the approval of the local Government. Under the old law the Justices were competent to expend the Municipal revenue on any object coming within the scope of the Municipal Act without any interference from Government, that is to say, they could make any grant for any municipal object at their discretion, with this limitation, that no work or series of works which exceeded Rs. 50,000 should be undertaken by them without the sanction of Government. The same limitation is retained under the new law. But further restrictions have been placed upon the Commissioners. They are precluded from altering or amending the Police Budget; they are required to spend annually a sum of not less than rupees one lakh and a half for the extension of drainage, and to make adequate and suitable provision for the conservancy of the town. If it should appear to the local Government that the Commissioners have failed to make adequate and suitable provision for the cleaning and conservancy of the town, to an extent likely to be prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants of the town or of any part thereof, the local Government may appoint a commission of enquiry, and on the report of such commission, may order further provision to be made for conservancy, and, should the Commissioners decline to carry out the recommendations made, the local Government may require the Chairman to carry out the orders of Government, notwithstanding any powers conferred upon the Commissioners under the Act. It will be thus seen that the new law, although it introduced a partial elective system in the Constitution of the Corporation, has materially circumscribed the powers of the Commissioners. The local Government has more direct power over the proceedings of the Corporation, than it had before. Should the Commissioners fail in the discharge of the duties imposed upon them by the law, and should their neglect prove prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants of the town, it would be always open to the local Government to intervene and exercise the powers vested in it by Section 28 of Act IV of 1876.*

In order, more conveniently, to review its leading features, the Act may be divided under the following general heads, although these divisions are not in strict accordance with the arrangement of the text or the regular sequence of its clauses and sections. The principal heads, then, are as follows:—

I.—The constitution, functions, and powers of the Corporation and of its officers.

II.—The imposition and levying of municipal rates.

III.—The provision of water-supply, improvement of buildings, streets and drains, and their conservancy.

IV. Sanitation.

The Municipal Corporation of the city of Calcutta, as now constituted, is created chiefly by election, by the suffrages of those citizens who are qualified under the municipal franchise, and partly by selection by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Excluding the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman, it is composed of seventy-two members, of whom two-thirds, or forty-eight, are elected by the rate-payers, and one-third, or twenty-four, are appointed by the local Government. As already stated, the powers of the Commissioners have been circumscribed, perhaps wisely. While the elective principle was still experimental, and its ultimate success unassured, there was *prima facie* good reason for such a course. But when once the principle has been fairly established, there can be no reason why these powers should not be considerably amplified.

A word or two on the supreme control which the local Government reserves to itself, through the Chairman of the Corporation, over the municipal affairs of the city, appears to be called for. The Chairman is selected and appointed by the Government, and may be looked upon as its representative and the custodian of Government interests. But there appears to be a pretty general feeling abroad, chiefly in non-official circles, that not only the chief officers, but the President of the Corporation should be elected by the Corporation. Possibly local municipal institutions are not yet ripe for such a change, and naturally the Government, which considers itself primarily responsible for the heavy financial liabilities of the city, cannot be altogether indifferent to the exercise of some kind of a general control over these matters.

The duties of the Corporation are multifarious. Its chief business is to provide by taxation the funds requisite for the maintenance of a local police, for the extension and ultimate completion of the underground drainage and the provision of a suitable supply of water, and for the conservancy of the town. The Corporation is required under the law to hold, for the transaction of its public business, at least sixteen meetings every year—four quarterly and twelve monthly, besides other special, or special general meetings, as may be necessary. At the last quarterly meeting of each year, held in October, the Chairman lays before the Commissioners for sanction the budget of estimated income and expenditure for the ensuing year. At the passing of such budget the various rates for the year are fixed :—A house-rate not exceeding 10 per cent. a water-rate not exceeding 6 per cent. for houses situated in streets supplied with filtered water, and 5 per

cent. for houses situated near such streets; a police-rate not exceeding 3 per cent. and a lighting-rate not exceeding $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The house and drainage rates are paid by house-owners (landlords), who are also bound to contribute a fourth share of the water-rate, of which the remaining three-fourths, besides the police and lighting rates, are paid by house-occupiers (tenants). In addition to the foregoing rates, there are taxes for keeping carriages and horses in the town, as well as for various conservancy requirements and other municipal wants. The general incidence of taxation, as represented by owners' and occupiers' rates does not seem to be fairly and equitably apportioned between the two classes, as will be seen from the following comparative statement:—

Maximum Rates payable by House-owners.				Maximum Rates payable by House-occupiers.			
House	rate	10	per centum.	Lighting rate	2	per centum.	
Drainage	"	$2\frac{1}{2}$	" "	Police	3	" "	
Water	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ th	" "	Water ($\frac{3}{4}$ ths)	$4\frac{1}{2}$	" "	
Total		14	" "	Total	$9\frac{1}{2}$	" "	

Thus it will be observed that while house-owners may have to contribute an aggregate of 14 per cent., house-occupiers are not required to pay more than $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. From the Annual Report of the Calcutta Municipality for 1877 it appears that:—"The house-rate has been the main stay of the General Fund, and whenever there has been a strain upon it, that rate has been raised to the maximum;" and, again:—"the expenditure of the Municipality has lately exceeded its General Budget income and the General Fund has been, both by the practice of the office and by the wording of the Act, so heavily handicapped as to put in a very sorry appearance at the grand annual audit of accounts. The whole burden of stores, advances, payment of invoices, profit and loss, and unforeseen miscellaneous expenditure of every kind is debited against the General Fund which is bankrupt, while the Water, Lighting and Police rate Funds are solvent." To understand more clearly the character of the General Fund, the sources of its income and the objects of its expenditure, an inspection of the following general statement will be useful:—

GENERAL FUND.

Revenue.	Rs.	As.	P.	Expenditure.	Rs.	As.	P.
House-rate	8,57,724	1	7	Interest & Sinking Fund	4,22,130	9	1
Licenses	2,54,226	15	1	Establishment charges	2,04,134	7	5
Carriage & Horse Tax	1,13,768	10	9	Road Repairs	3,42,270	2	2
Carts	68,745	6	8	Conservancy	1,96,692	11	6
Miscellaneous	4,27,269	3	7	Miscellaneous	4,96,504	13	10
Total	17,21,734	4	8	Total	16,61,333	6	0

From these figures, which are for the year 1877, it will be seen that

during that year the House-rate, although imposed at only 7 per cent, yielded more than half the entire revenue in the General Fund; and during the current year, with this rate fixed at the maximum of 10 per cent., the receipts will amount to upwards of 12 lakhs of rupees, and will probably represent even more than two-thirds of this branch of the revenue, or two-fifths of the gross revenue of the city. The aggregate taxation for the current year is 18 per centum and is apportioned as follows:—

House-owners.			House-occupiers.		
House-rate	... 10	per centum	Police-rate	... 2.25	per ce.
Water "	... 0.94	"	Water "	... 2.82	"
			Lighting "	... 2.00	"
Total	... 10.94	"	Total	... 7.07	"

From the above it will be seen that, while house-owners contribute 11 per cent. of these taxes, house-occupiers are required to provide only 7 per cent.

The total revenue of the city during the year 1877 was more than twenty-eight lakhs of rupees or about £280,000. In the General Fund, as already shewn, the receipts amounted to about 17½ lakhs of rupees, and to this should be added about 10 lakhs of rupees, on account of the police, water, and lighting rates, to obtain the gross annual municipal revenue. Although this amount seems to be a considerable one to raise by taxation, it is hardly sufficient to meet all the pressing financial requirements of the city. First and foremost, there are the periodical payments on account of the funded debt of the city, which already exceeds one hundred and fifty lakhs of rupees, or about £1,500,000, and to which additions are being steadily made year by year. The question of the reduction of the present heavy financial liabilities of the city has naturally been the subject of much anxious consideration in many quarters, and at the present time, it is believed, a scheme is being matured by the local and Imperial Governments, by which it is intended to consolidate the Government portion of the debt, amounting to very nearly two-thirds, or about one crore of rupees, and to liquidate this amount in thirty years by half-yearly payments of about two-and-a-quarter lakhs of rupees. If this scheme can be carried out, as there is every reason to suppose it will, a great boon will be conferred on the rate-paying community, and taxation and expenditure may, *pari-passu*, be correspondingly reduced.

The annexed extract conveys a fair idea of the financial position of the city:—"The Municipality has incurred loans to the extent of Rs. 1,50,55,935 to the end of 1877, *viz.*, Rs. 5,499,600 from the public at 6 per cent. interest, Rs. 52,000,000

from the Secretary of State for India for water-works at 4 per cent. interest, and Rs. 43,56,335 from Government for drainage, markets, &c., at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest. The total interest the Municipality has to pay every year is Rs. 7, 34,011, *viz.*, Rs. 3,29,976 on loans from the public, Rs. 208,000 on loans of 52 lakhs from the Secretary of State and Rs. 1,96,035 from Government for drainage, markets, &c. Besides these sums the Municipality has to pay every year Rs. 3,000,344 towards liquidation of loans, *viz.*, Rs. 1,10,000 for loans from the public, Rs. 1,04,000 for the loans of 52 lakhs and Rs. 86,344 for drainage, markets, &c. This latter payment will increase every half-year, but there will be a corresponding decrease in payment of interest." *

Thus it appears that the annual liability on account of interest and sinking fund contributions at the end of the year 1877 amounted to no less than Rs. 10,34,355. In other words, more than two-fifths of the gross revenue is annually appropriated to meet charges which it is possible, by well devised schemes, to extinguish in the course of a few years, with the result of very materially reducing the burden of local municipal taxation, and thus affording substantial relief to the rate-paying community. That the financial liabilities of the city have attained such vast proportions, and are still increasing year by year, is matter for the gravest anxiety and calls for the application of thorough remedial measures. The scheme proposed, and now under the consideration of Government, deals only with two-thirds of the standing debt; but an auxiliary scheme may also with advantage be simultaneously provided, to embrace the remaining portion of the funded debt of the city. The imposition of every additional one per centum of taxation is said to yield an increase of municipal revenue to the extent of Rs. 125,000. The rates paid by house-owners and house-occupiers, if levied at the maximum, would just amount to 21 per cent.; that is to say, three per cent. more than the aggregate rates during the current year. A further increase of revenue of Rs. 375 000 per annum would thus be obtained, and the present hardship of increased taxation would be more than compensated by the very material and substantial reduction of taxation which would necessarily result in the future. Under the existing law, unexpended balances of the other funds cannot be appropriated to meet the charges on account of interest or sinking fund. But this disability might, if necessary, be removed by the Legislature by a short Act, based on the principle that all unexpended balances of the water-rate fund, for instance, might be diverted

* Administration Report, Calcutta Municipality, for 1877, pp. 13 & 14.

legitimately and equitably towards the liquidation of the debt incurred for the cost of the construction of water works, and so on with the other funds, which might similarly be placed under contribution for the liquidation of the debts incurred on their respective accounts, instead of throwing the whole burden of debt on the general fund, in other words, on house-owners only. The immense prospective advantages to be gained by the final extinction of the entire debt of the city, the reduction of expenditure and the abatement of taxation, with consequent relief to the local rate-payer, are considerations which make the question one of vital importance, to be looked at and dealt with not so much in view of present convenience as of future and permanent benefit.

The Municipal law further requires that suitable provision should be made by the Commissioners for the supply of water and other municipal improvements as regards buildings, streets, and drains. But closely connected with the existing state of the financial liabilities of this city is the cost of the extension of the present water-supply, which is now under consideration, and which, according to the estimates submitted, is likely to add from fifty to sixty lakhs of rupees to the present financial burdens of the Municipality. It is to be hoped, desirable as this project is, that the scheme will be thoroughly considered in all its financial bearings also. If any further debt is to be incurred, taxation must be correspondingly raised to meet the additional strain. Any scheme, therefore, however well conceived or elaborated, for the extinction of the present liabilities of the city, would be endangered, if not rendered nugatory, by further heavy loan operations, which would not be justifiable except on the ground of the most dire necessity.

The existing water-supply will compare favourably in quality with that of most other cities. It is said in the official reports to be "far purer" than some samples of London water with which analytical comparisons had been made. But London water is notoriously bad. At the close of the year 1876 it was reported that there were 112½ miles of filtered water ducts, or pipes, and 26 miles of unfiltered water pipes in the city. The daily local consumption of filtered water is over 6½ millions of gallons, allowing an average of about 14 gallons per head. The debt on account of the water-supply works amounts to Rs. 57,56,000 or £575,600.

The system of underground drainage has been considerably expanded. At the end of the year 1876 it was reported:—"Of the total estimated cost of the drainage works amounting to about 89 lakhs of rupees, about 74 lakhs have been expended. Of the 40·17 miles of brick sewers provided for, 39·21

miles have been completed, and of the 135·17 miles of pipe sewers, 47·34 miles have been completed. There remain, therefore, yet to be constructed 0·96* miles of brick and 87·84 miles of pipe sewers." Thus it will be seen that, at least, fifteen lakhs of rupees are still required to complete the drainage scheme, besides a similar sum for the completion of the town sewage, and as the money required will have to be borrowed from time to time, the standing municipal debt must also be proportionately increased. There appears to be considerable difference of opinion even among sanitary authorities, on the subject of the utility of underground drainage, but in a brief review like this, it is hardly possible to consider all the arguments for, and against, the system. That it has its advantages as well as its disadvantages, no one can deny, and all things considered, the former appear to preponderate in favor of the system when properly applied to large cities. The disadvantages, however, may be reduced to a minimum with proper gradients and a convenient outfall to sewerage. It is not every city which, situated like Edinburgh for example, on an elevation, can always secure the best possible conditions as regards gradients, but Engineering science can doubtless reduce such natural difficulties. Closely connected with every scheme of drainage is that of cess-pools and open drains, which, however, will be more particularly noticed under the subject of sanitation.

The aggregate length of roads in the city in 1876 was said to be 132 miles and the cost of their repairs that year was Rs. 3,20,380, which may be considered the annual average cost. This seems a large expenditure, and ought, if judiciously laid out, to keep the roads in a better state than they are often to be found in. Then, again, in addition to the above sum, there is disbursed annually about a lakh and a half of rupees for the scavengering of streets and drains and the maintenance of sewers. These charges are debited under the general head of conservancy. In connection with local road-ways, it is worthy of mention, that a system of tramways is about to be introduced throughout the city, along some of the most important thoroughfares. As the scheme will be developed with private capital and enterprise, it may reasonably be expected to prove more successful than that which, under the auspices of the local Municipal authorities, a few years ago proved such a miserable failure. When the scheme is in complete working order it will doubtless be a real boon to the public.

The illumination of the city with gas has recently been considerably extended, and many portions of the town which for years previously had to put up with the primitive oil lamps that only

* Administration Report, Calcutta Municipality, for 1876, p. 61.

“served to make darkness visible,” now blaze out in all the glory of gas. But the fate of gas is sealed, as electricity, being a much more powerful illuminant, and probably also more economical, is certain to become the light of the future. Till the end of the present century, however, electric lighting cannot be introduced into the Calcutta Municipality, as the contract with the Gas Company does not expire till then. The number of gas lamps at the end of the year 1877 was 2,794. But during the last and present years this number has been considerably increased, including the total illumination of the Esplanade with gas, the cost of which is not, however, borne by the local Municipality, as the Esplanade, or *maidan*, as it is commonly termed, is outside the municipal jurisdiction.

The last and most important consideration in connexion with civil interests and wants is that of the public health of the inhabitants of cities. A city which is all that can be desired from an æsthetic point of view, adorned with handsome public buildings and other works of art; laid out with beautifully designed gardens, squares and parks and magnificently illuminated by night, may, notwithstanding all these advantages, owing to defective sanitation and the neglect of ordinary sanitary measures and precautions, be a veritable charnel-house. The sanitary condition of Calcutta has engaged public attention, and been the subject of much anxious consideration, from the beginning of the present century and even earlier. In a comprehensive article on the subject, the question was dealt with at some length in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* more than thirty years ago. A valuable report, entitled the “Medical Topography of Calcutta,” was prepared at that time and printed, under the orders of Government, by Doctor (afterwards Sir) J. R. Martin. That gentleman, in his report, assigns many causes for the unhealthiness of the city, especially of the native portions. As these reasons, in the main, hold true, even at the present time, they may, with much advantage, be still studied, and are therefore reproduced here :—

1.—The overcrowded population, the crowded and ill-ventilated state of the houses; the great number of decayed habitations.

2.—Their ill-construction and being built on the ground instead of being raised off it, as habitations ought always to be, in countries subject to inundation, like Bengal.

3.—The close, narrow and ill-ventilated state of the streets; their want of water-courses and pavements; their dustiness and general want of cleanliness; their want of proper direction, in reference to prevailing winds.

4.—The imperfection of drainage and sewerage; this is a great source of unhealthiness.

5.—The deficiency of good tanks and the general want of a supply of good water ; the number of decayed and half-dried tanks, affording unwholesome water and yielding noxious exhalations.

6.—Crowded, filthy, ill-ventilated and unpaved state of public markets.

7.—Neglected and ill-arranged condition of public tatties (latrines.)

8.—Bad state of the native burying grounds and their vicinity to the town.

9.—The very neglected state of all surrounding suburbs. The number of salines and marshes.

10.—The construction of canals, and the heaping of their banks, so as to prevent the drainage eastward, along the natural inclination of the soil.

11.—The vicinity of rice cultivation.

12.—The quantity of low jungle trees, obstructing ventilation, and the great extent of irregularity of ground admitting of the lodgment of impure water, &c., giving off natural exhalation. These are chiefly to be found in the suburbs.

13.—Great immorality of the natives—Polygamy.

14.—The institution of caste is of itself an enormous injury to public health, because prejudicial to public happiness.

15.—The sedentary and indolent habits of the natives ; their irregular hours of rest ; their long fasts ; their improvidence and common practice of borrowing ; their exposure and irregularities at fairs and festivals of religion.

16.—Their defective diet, bedding, clothing and fuel.

17.—The knavery and ignorance of the native practitioner in medicine and surgery.

18.—The misuse of the cold bath under circumstances of impaired health, and especially during the cold season.

19.—Neglect of vaccination.

20.—The want of hospitals.

21.—Defective education and physical management of children.”*

Such, then, is an abstract of the causes, active and latent, which were considered to influence the public health more than a quarter of a century ago, and which, to a great extent, more especially in the suburbs, still exercise some influence over it. Again, it will be interesting to compare the present sanitary condition of the town with its condition at the time Dr. Martin wrote his report. This is what he said :—“Whoever has visited the native part of the town before sun-rise, with its

* *Calcutta Review*. Vol., V. 1846, pp. 381 and 382.

narrow lanes and 'rankest compounds of villainous smells that ever offended nostril, will require no argument in favor of widening the streets, so as to effect the two greatest improvements of all, as respects the salubrity of the city, free exposure to the sun, to rarefy and elevate the vapours, and to the winds, to dilute them.' Ruined houses, choked with weeds,—the asylums of dying and the sepulchres of dead ones—are to be seen packed in between crowded dwellings, full of little, low rooms without any apertures but such as open upon confined, filthy quadrangles. The inhabitants of these habitations are too much accustomed to bad smells to hasten the removal from their premises of any matter that is in a state of decomposition. Ground is too valuable to be spared for gardens, and, therefore, almost every inch is built upon. The streets and lanes of the roads are covered with filth, dust, mud or offal; and periodically coolies come round as scavengers, to stir up rather than remove the accumulated mess in the kennels, and to send up into the surrounding houses, fresh loaded pestiferous air to be pent up there in so many dungeons."*

This very deplorable state of things existed thirty or forty years ago throughout the city, but is now to be found only in portions of the town, and, more particularly, of some parts of the suburbs. But the position of Calcutta in respect of its sanitary defects and wants, it must in justice be admitted, has not been more remarkable than that of many other great cities. For instance, of some parts of London the following account extracted from a report made a few years ago, by Dr. Letheby, to the Commissioners of sewers of that city, will give some idea of the difficulties of sanitation even in the metropolis of the world:—"I have been at much pains" reports Dr. Letheby, "during the last three months to ascertain the precise conditions of the dwellings, the habits and the diseases of the poor. In this way, 2,208 rooms have been most circumstantially inspected, and the general result is that nearly all of them are filthy, or overcrowded, or out of repair.** So close and unwholesome is the atmosphere of some of these rooms," &c.†

Now this condition of affairs exists doubtless, more or less, in every large city and town. But this very essential and importance difference should be clearly borne in mind, that the circumstances and conditions under which such a state of things has been generated, and may even, to some extent, be neglected with impunity, are not the same all

* *Calcutta Review* Vol. V., 1846, p. 385.

† *Calcutta Gazette*, December 2nd 1875, p. 1496.

the world over. In cold countries the danger of the neglect of sanitary measures cannot be of such vital importance as in warm countries, in which the deleterious effects of a tropical climate are more sudden in their operation and far more subtle and dangerous. That there is still great need for local sanitary improvement, a recent report of the Health Officer of this city seems to more than prove. He reports that it "is impossible to conceive a more perfect combination of all the evils of crowded city-life, with primitive filthiness and disorder, than is presented in the native portion of Calcutta. Dirt, in the most intense and noxious forms that a dense population can produce, covers the ground, saturates the water, infects the air, and finds in the habits and incidents of the people's lives, every possible facility for re-entering their bodies, while ventilation could not be more shunned in their houses, than it is, if the climate were arctic, instead of tropical"*

Local sanitary reforms seem to be chiefly, and most urgently required in the direction of native bustee-improvement. Bustees are blocks of huts, or hovels, situated within the city, and occupied by the poorest classes of natives. They are the analogies of rural villages and are totally wanting in the usual requirements and decencies of ordinary conservancy. The inconveniences and dangers arising from imperfect sanitation, in connection with small and isolated groups of huts, situated in open localities, may be neutralised, to a great extent, by the currents of fresh air which carry away with them into the open surrounding country much of the noxious and pestiferous exhalations from the filth and other impurities inseparably connected with them. But, situated in the very heart of a crowded and ill-ventilated city, they become the fruitful source of epidemic disease and death, and are the very centres from which they radiate. Therefore, it is a matter of vital importance with every intelligent and responsible governing body, charged with the conservation of the public health, to adopt the most satisfactory sanitary measures possible. That frequently there are difficulties in the way, is true; but it is also true that these difficulties are not insuperable. If those members of the local Corporation who recognise the importance of the vital question of sanitation, were only from time to time to agitate the subject in some practical form, the aggregate result at the end of each year would be considerable. But what, it may be asked, are the sanitary measures which require special attention? The fundamental principles are very briefly and clearly indicated in a recent Resolution of the Government of India, which it may perhaps be as well to reproduce

* *Administration Report, Calcutta Municipality, 1876, p. 2.*

here :—" In the larger cities and towns in India, employing their own Engineers and Officers of Health, the foundation of sanitary improvement must be laid in works of domestic sewerage and drainage, in water-supply brought from a distance, in surface levelling, paving, and cleansing, and in surface drainage. These, together with opening up new thoroughfares, tree planting and improved house construction, where sufficient funds are available, will improve the general health and mitigate or prevent outbreaks of epidemic disease in all the larger groups of population. They are not only the most effectual measures which can be adopted for these objects, but for large, dense populations, they are in the end the cheapest."*

One of the most important factors in every perfect sanitary scheme must be a system of suitable and adequate drainage. Whether underground drainage accomplishes all that is claimed for it, or expected from it, is one of those indeterminate problems, still in the region of theory. But it is probable that in tropical climates it is preferable to open drains and cess-pools, which are certain to become most intolerable and dangerous nuisances.

It may be instructive to glance for a moment, at the condition of London in this respect hardly a quarter of a century ago, before the existing system of under ground sewers in that city had been expanded to its present proportions. " Dr. Southwood Smith has made the public aware that the low and filthy districts of London are the sources of fatal and wide-spreading fevers. The city sewers extend to about 15 miles, but form only a small portion of the whole metropolitan drainage, the extent of which cannot be ascertained * *. There is scarcely a house without a cess-pool under it ; and a large number have two, three, four, and more under them, so that the number of such receptacles in the metropolis may be taken at 300,000. The exposed surface of each cess-pool measures, on an average, 9 feet, and the mean depth of the whole is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet, so that each contains $58\frac{1}{2}$ cubic feet of fermenting filth of the most poisonous, noisome and disgusting nature * *. The cess-pool, however, in general, forms but one-fourth of the evaporating surface : the house-drain forms half or two-fourths, and the sewer one ; but, connected as the sewers and house-drains naturally are, and acted upon by the winds and barometric conditions, the miasma from the house-drains and sewers of one district may be carried up to another."†

The Public Health Act, passed a few years ago, has altered

* *Calcutta Gazette*, 20th August 1879, p. 927.

† *Gazetteer of the World*. Vol. VI. pp. 806 & 807.

very materially the above condition of things in London; but the picture presented is still more or less true of the extensive suburbs of that metropolis, and serves to shew to what extent serious neglect of the most ordinary sanitary measures is likely to prove prejudicial to the public health. That there is room for considerable improvement in this direction even in some portions of this city of palaces, the following extract from a recent report of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation will sufficiently show:—"The open ditches, being, as a rule, without a hard floor, and having little or no fall, are scarcely more than elongated cess-pools, and will continue to be the most objectionable of all conservancy arrangements until filled up and superseded by underground sewers."*

The outfall of the local underground sewers is in the Salt Water Lakes to the East of this city; but a small portion of the local sewerage, *viz.*, that from Fort William, is discharged into the River Hooghly. This has been repeatedly noticed in official and other quarters, as the primary cause of the sickness in the port of Calcutta, particularly among the crews of the ships moored near the neighbourhood of this outfall. The pollution of rivers in England, especially of the Thames, has attracted much public attention there, and should convey a warning to the sanitary authorities in this country. The accident to the "Princess Alice" is still fresh in the public memory, when an English Weekly Journal, under the sensational heading 'Drowned or Poisoned?' charged the Metropolitan Board of Works with having murdered 600 or 700 people by poisoning them with sewage. How serious the evil of river pollution has become in Great Britain, not only from sewerage, but from other causes, one more extract will serve to illustrate:—"The ordinary sewage of towns is not, however, the most noxious matter that enters our rivers. The refuse of manufactories of all kinds, of dye works, of paper works, and of distilleries has produced in many of our useful streams a fearful amount of pollution. The stench from the Clyde at Glasgow produces sickness. A clergyman who lives near St. Helens, says that the river there is not only offensive out of doors, but penetrates into every room of his house, even when the windows are shut; that its action is felt in the kitchen, where it turns the copper vessels almost blue. The Mersey emits in summer a very offensive smell. The Calder is equally disagreeable, and we are told that a letter is written with the water of this river instead of ink. It was stated before a committee of the House of

* *Administration Report*, Calcutta Municipality for 1876, p.42.

Commons that a light was applied to the water of a stream near Bradford, and it burnt. A stream called Bourne, which flows into the river near Durham, is at times as yellow as ochre and as thick as glue. Lord Salisbury visited Manchester the other day, and can testify that the river there is in a bad condition. He was told by a high Municipal authority that an unfortunate man tumbled into that river, and before he could be rescued, swallowed a dose of the water of which he died.”*

The prevalent local diseases in Calcutta, and the ratio per mille of deaths therefrom, is shewn in the following table :—

Causes of death in 1877.

Diseases.				Number of deaths.	Rates of deaths per 1,000 of Population.
Fevera ...	...	...	...	5,151	11·9
Cholera	...	...	...	1,418	3·3
Dysentery	...	...	...	1,060	2·4
Diarrhœa	...	...	...	623	1·4
Small Pox	...	...	...	67	0·15

It is worthy of note that the rate of mortality from the two principal diseases—fever and cholera, appears to be rather on the increase than on the decrease. It is said that the total number of deaths from Cholera was 796 in 1871; 1,102 in 1872; 1,105 in 1873, and 1,245 in 1874; but in 1875 it rose to 1,674, and in 1876 to 1,851, and although in 1877 it fell to 1,418, it was much higher than during any one of the four preceding years. * * The deaths from fever were 3,845 in 1867; 3,681 in 1868, 3,838 in 1869; 3,577 in 1870; 4,242 in 1871; 4,895 1872; 3,632 in 1873; 4,461 in 1874; 5,328 in 1875; 4,361 in 1876 and 5 131 in 1877† These facts speak for themselves, but it is to be hoped that some improvement will be found in the vital statistics of the city when the public health reports for the years 1878 and 1879 are published. The rate of mortality in Calcutta, it is also said, “suddenly rose from 23·9 in 1871, to 26·8 in 1874, to 32·7 in 1875, to 30·1 in 1876 and, to 31·9 in 1877.”‡ These data are gloomy enough, and afford proof that sanitary reforms are more urgently needed now than ever during the past few years. If the citizens of Calcutta would only evince an active and earnest interest in this most vital and important question, there is no reason why the

* *Saturday Review*, May 8th 1875, Municipality for 1877. p. 71.
p. 592.

‡ *Ibid* p. 69.

† *Administration Report*, Calcutta

city should not take a high rank, as regards its public health. Sir Ashley Eden has already placed on record his opinion that the hope that had been expressed that "the work of sanitary reform would be carried out vigorously and earnestly, has been disappointed;" and further, unlike his august predecessor, His Honor does not feel that India is ripe for representative institutions. If, notwithstanding the unfavourable opinion he appears to have expressed regarding it in his Resolution on the report of the Calcutta Municipality for 1877, he has most generously and magnanimously permitted the system to continue yet a while, the note of warning already sounded should not be unheeded by the recently appointed members of the Corporation. Sir Ashley Eden observes that "the experiment of what is called a representative system of municipal administration of the town of Calcutta may be a very interesting experiment, but after all, it must be recollected, that it is only an experiment, and, having regard to the enormous outlay and heavy liabilities of the town, it is certainly a very dangerous experiment which requires the most careful watching."

From time to time, various suggestions have appeared chiefly in the columns of the local Press with reference to the remodelling of the Municipal Corporation. Many schemes have been propounded, but none of them can lay claim to sufficient comprehensiveness. A few brief suggestions for the better administration of our municipal affairs are here offered, in the hope that they may contain something of practical utility.

In the first place, there should be a definite and complete understanding between the administrative and executive factors of the Corporation as regards a proper division of authority and responsibility. If such an understanding were established and fairly carried out, there would be nothing heard of recrimination at the public meetings of the Commissioners. Then, again, as regards responsibility in financial matters. A most fruitful source of deficit is to be found in the expenditure of money which is not distinctly provided for in the Budget estimates and grants. It should be a cardinal principle to spend no money where none has been provided beforehand. But contingencies do, and must, occasionally arise, when it may be necessary to incur extraordinary expenditure. Therefore, distinct provision should be made beforehand to meet such contingencies and to prevent complications. Under the head of "unforeseen contingencies" a sufficient sum might be allotted from year to year, and, if unexpended, appropriated to the extinction of debt, or carried forward for the same purpose during the ensuing year. Then, again, in the event of sudden emergencies of a grave and pressing character occurring,

498 *The City of Calcutta and its Municipal, &c.*

works of ordinary character might very well be temporarily suspended. It is only a question which of the two matters on hand might be of greater importance, and which should give place to the other. The next important point to be provided for is the relief of the executive by delegating a portion of the control and supervision of the work in each circle or ward, to the resident Commissioners. Generally there are from two to three Commissioners in each ward. All may not be resident in their respective wards, but at any rate, they can easily arrange to look after the wants and requirements of their own jurisdictions. Each Commissioner would then know what was going on in his ward, and, as it is impossible for the Chairman to be ubiquitous, his hands would be thus considerably strengthened, by his colleagues aiding him in such part of his executive duties as might require some degree of personal supervision. He would not then be dependent on the reports and representations of petty subordinates. The ward Commissioners would feel that their interests and that of their respective circles were more in common, and their recommendations, based on a practical acquaintance with the wants of the people, would carry additional weight. By giving every member of the Corporation a direct interest in the advancement of the welfare of his immediate ward, the city would necessarily benefit, as a whole, and the work thus done individually, section by section, would, when considered in the aggregate, be found to compare not unfavourably, from year to year, with that which has been already accomplished.

ART.—VI. GASTRONOMICAL ANECDOTES OF THE EARLIER KHALIFS.

It is pretty well known what and how the great men of our times eat, but the case is different with sovereigns who lived a thousand years or more ago ; accordingly a collection of anecdotes of the earlier Khalifs, to which also descriptions of some dishes are appended, may be of some interest.

Mo'avyah the 1st Omniade Khalif : Reigned 41-60 (661-679).

His first breakfast, we are told, consisted of the remnants from the preceding night's supper, such as a cold lamb, a chicken, and similar dishes. Afterwards, when the principal breakfast was brought, his secretary likewise placed himself by his side. If anybody happened to come in, Mo'avyah requested him to take a seat at the table, and to eat two or three mouthfuls of some dish which he himself offered, whilst the secretary read his letters to him, or wrote from his dictation. When the table was removed, and he had taken leave of those who were with him, he retired to an interior apartment, where he admitted no one to his presence.

When the midday prayers were announced, he went to the mosque, performed yet four prayer-flections more on his return, and then gave audience to his most intimate courtiers. If it happened to be winter, he distributed to them dainties called *Zâd-ul-hâj*, *i. e.*, provisions of a pilgrim, such as dry pastry, biscuits, tartlets made with milk and sugar, butter-cakes, dried fruits, *danjuj*, &c.* In summer, fresh fruits were served.

Then his viziers made their appearance, and received his orders according to the requirements of the day ; this lasted till the *A'sr*, *i. e.*, 3 P.M. Then he again recited his prayers and withdrew, and no one was admitted. Towards the end of the *A'sr* he took his seat, and gave his courtiers an audience, in which they were seated according to rank. Then his dinner was brought, which lasted till the *M'aghreb*, *i. e.* sunset prayers, were announced. During this repast, those who had to petition for anything, were not admitted. At the call to prayers the table was taken away, and he went to the mosque.

* *Danjûj* is arabized from the Persian *Dânjû*, which is a kind of thick vegetable-soup.

Voracity of Suleymán, the 7th Omniade Khalif: Reigned 96-99 (715-717).

This sovereign was a great eater, and his appetite exceeded all belief. To satisfy it, he required every time one hundred *rítl*, or pounds according to the weight of E'ráq. Sometimes his cooks brought him spits garnished with roasted fowls. This prince, who wore a robe of painted silk loaded with gold embroidery, would draw one of his long sleeves over his hand and pull off with it a burning-hot chicken from the spit and tear it to pieces with his teeth. Aşma'yi narrates this as follows:—"I spoke to Rashyd of the voracity of Suleymán, and of his way of pulling chickens from the spit with his sleeve. 'You scamp, how you know history!' said he; 'Know, then, that when I examined the robes of the Omniades, I remarked on the sleeve of every robe worn by Suleymán, a stain, resembling a spot of oil. I could not understand this until I heard what you have just said. 'Let the robes of Suleymán be brought!' They were presented to him, we examined them together, and we found these fat marks to be very distinct." Aşma'yi wore such a robe sometimes when he went out, and said:—"This is a garment of Suleymán, and is a gift from Rashyd."

Two anecdotes about Mohdi, the 2nd Abbasside Khalif, who reigned from Oct. 6th 775, till Aug. 3rd 785

1.—Whilst hunting, the Khalif Mohdi, with his freed slave, A'mr B. Rabyi', who was also a poet, happened to be separated from the guards and escort. He felt very hungry and said to his freed man:—"Find somebody who may give us to eat." A'mr obeyed, and at last discovered a peasant who had a kitchen garden near his cottage. He entered and asked the man whether he had anything to eat. "Yes," replied he; "I have some loaves of barley-bread, the vegetables you see, and leeks." "If you have also oil, that will be perfect," replied Mohdi. "There is yet a little remaining," said the peasant, who served up the provisions, which they consumed with great gusto. Mohdi found the repast delicious, and did it such honour that not a morsel of it was left. Then he told A'mr to compose a distich for the occasion, and the poet improvised:—

Who fed us with salt-fish, oil, barley-bread, and leeks

Deserves a box on the ear for his evil deed, or two, or, even three.

"These are bad words" exclaimed Mohdi; "You ought rather to have said:

'Deserves a purse for his good deed, or two, or, even three.'

At this moment the guards, with the escort and eunuchs of the Khalif arrived, and he ordered three purses of dirhems to be paid to the market-gardener.

2.—On another occasion, whilst Mohdi was hunting, his horse carried him far away, and he arrived, dying with hunger, near the tent of a nomad. "Arab," said he "Can you shelter me? I am your guest." The Arab replied :—" You appear to me to be a man of good countenance, powerful, and of a high family; nevertheless, if you are satisfied with what is at hand, I offer it to you." "Bring what you have," said Mohdi. First of all the nomad presented him with bread, baked under the ashes; the prince ate it with pleasure, and asked for the rest of the repast. The host brought a leather bag, filled with curdled milk, and served it up. "Delicious!" exclaimed Mohdi; "have you anything else to offer me?" The host now fetched a leather bottle of *Nebâdh*, i. e., date-wine, and having first himself taken a pull, presented it to Mohdi; who also drank and said :—" Do you know who I am?" "Really, I do not" replied the Arab. Mohdi replied :—"I am one of the eunuchs of the Court." "God bless your employment," said the Arab, "and may he prolong your life, whoever you may be!" Then he took another sip, and presented the bottle to his guest, who also drank and asked again : "Do you know, who I am?" "Yes" said the nomad; "you told me that you were a eunuch of the Court." "Well! that is not it," continued Mohdi. "Then, what are you?" asked the Arab. "One of the Generals of Mohdi." The Arab congratulated him in these terms: "May your habitation be desolate, and your tomb have the odour of sanctity!" He poured out another cup for himself, and then offered it to his guest who, having drunk, renewed his question for the third time.—"I know," said the Arab, "you pretend to be one of the Generals of Mohdi." "No," replied the latter, "I am the Commander of the Faithful himself!" At these words the Arab took hold of his leather bottle, closed its mouth, and tied it up. "Pour me out some more!" said Mohdi. "By God," exclaimed the Arab, "you shall not have one drop more." "And, why asked Mohdi. The host replied, "When you drank the first time, you said that you were a eunuch of the Court; I did not mind that. Then you gave out that you were one of the Generals of the Khalif; let that pass again. But on drinking the third time you have become the Prince of the Believers himself! By Allah, if I pour out anything to let you drink the fourth time, I fear that you will become the Prophet!" Mohdi was still laughing at this sally, when his cavaliers surrounded the tent. At the sight of so many nobles and high personages, who alighted to salute his guest, the Arab lost his head and thought only of flight. He had already, run to a good distance when he was brought back to the Khalif, who put him at his ease and presented him with a large sum of money.

Harun-ur-Rashyd, 4th Abbasside Khalif: Reigned from 876 till 809.

1.—Suleymán, the Khorasanian, a freed eunuch of Rashyd, stood near him when breakfasting at Hirah, whilst A'wn, the E'badýte, Chieftain of that town, held in his hand a platter, containing a very fat fish, which he placed before Rashyd, at the same time with a sauce expressly prepared for it.

The Khalif was about to taste of the dish, but his physician Jebráyl [Gabriel], the son of Bakhtieshu, interfered, by beckoning to the steward to put it aside for his own use. Rashyd took notice of this stratagem. The table being removed, and the ablutions finished, the doctor went away. "Rashyd ordered me," narrates Suleymán, "to follow him to his apartment, to surprise him at the repast, and to report what I had seen. I obeyed; but I perceived, from the precautions I saw Jebráyl taking, that he had his suspicions about the orders I had received. He actually went into a room in the house of A'wn, and ordered the dinner to be served. He caused three cups to be brought; into the first he put a piece of fish, which he moistened with wine of Tyzenábád*. Having thus poured some wine upon the fish, he said:—'This is the way Jebráyl eats it.' Into the second cup he put another morsel of fish, on which he poured iced water, and said—'This is the manner in which the Commander of the Faithful (may God glorify him) eats it, if he does not mix it with other victuals.' Into the third cup he put with the fish some roast meat, some confectionery, a little sauce, a few vegetables; in fact, he took a little piece, and one or two mouthfuls of every dish served, and poured iced water upon the whole.' 'Behold' said he 'the dinner of the Khalif, if he eats other dishes with the fish.' Then he returned the three cups to the steward, telling him to put them by till the Khalif was awakened. Then he attacked the fish and ate his fill of it; but when he felt thirsty, he drank bumpers of pure wine. Then he took his nap. When the Khalif awoke, he asked me about Jebráyl, and whether he had eaten of the famous fish; I narrated to him what had taken place, and he immediately ordered the three cups to be brought. In the first, designated by the physician as his own share, and into which he had poured pure wine, the fish was found reduced to crumbs, and melted like broth. In the second, considered by Jebráyl as the portion of the Khalif, and into which he had poured iced water, the fish had swollen to the double of its original bulk. In the

* This was a village situated between Kufah and Qádesyah, rich in vineyards, trees, date-groves, and orchards. Several canals, derived from

the Euphrates, irrigated it in every direction. The wine of it was as renowned as that of Qutrubbul.

third cup, which contained, according to the assertion of Jebráyl, the share of the Khalif, in case he ate various other dishes with the fish, the victuals were putrid to such a degree and emitted such a nauseous smell, that the Khalif felt unwell when it was brought near him. The Khalif then ordered me to carry 5,000 dinárs to Jebráyl, adding :—‘Can I be blamed for loving a man, who governs me with such prudence?’ As for myself, I carried this sum to its address.”

2.—This anecdote is narrated by Ibrahim, the son of Mohdi :—“When the Khalif Rashyd was at Raqqah, he kindly accepted my invitation and paid me a visit. This Prince was accustomed to eat hot dishes first, and then cold ones. When the latter were served, he perceived near himself a plate of *Qaryd*—a kind of fish-stew—and, finding the morsels to be very small, he asked why my cook had hashed the fish into such minute pieces? ‘Sire,’ replied I, ‘these are tongues of fishes.’ ‘It seems to me,’ continued Rashyd ‘there must be at least a hundred of them in this plate.’ Muráqib, my valet, remarked to the Khalif that it contained more than one hundred and fifty tongues. Rashyd adjured him to say how much this dish had cost. The slave replied that its price had exceeded a thousand dirhems. The Prince left off eating and swore that he would touch no food until Muráqib brought him one thousand dirhems. This sum having been brought to him, he ordered it to be distributed among the poor :—‘I want,’ said he to me, ‘this to be the expiation of your foolish prodigality. A thousand dirhems for a fish-stew!’

And taking hold of the plate, he handed it to one of his attendants, saying :—‘Go into the street, wait for the first beggar who passes, and give him this.’ Now, this dish, which I had purchased in honor of the Khalif, cost me two hundred and seventy dinars. I beckoned to one of my servants to go out at the same time with the attendant of the prince, and to buy back the dish from him who might become the possessor of it ; but Rashyd, who had guessed my intention, recalled his valet, and said to him :—‘Page ! When you give it to a poor fellow, recommend him from the Khalif, to take good care not to part with the dish at a lower price than two hundred dinars, and it is worth yet more than that.’ The valet acquitted himself faithfully of his injunction, and I had actually to pay two hundred dinars, to buy back the costly article from a beggar.”

Mo'tasem, 7th Abbasside Khalif : Reigned from July 31st, 883, to January 4th, 842.

1.—This is what Ahmad B. Abu Duwád, one of his favourites, narrates :—“At the time when Mo'tasem had ceased to take care

of his health and of his strength, I waited one day upon him and met his physician Yahya B. Masaweyh. The Khalif went out for a moment, after having recommended me not to go away till he had returned. 'My dear friend,' said I to Yahya, 'it seems to me that the features of the Commander of the Faithful are changed, his strength is decreasing, and his vivacity diminishing. How do you find him yourself?' 'Certainly, the prince is strong like an iron bar, but he has in his hands an axe with which he is incessantly striking that bar.' 'How is that?' asked I. He replied—'Formerly he never ate fish except after seasoning it with a sauce of vinegar, capers, cummin, rue, celery, mustard and nuts. By making use of this sauce he avoided the inconvenience of fish-diet and the dangers to which it exposes the nervous system. When he had served up for himself the heads of sheep or oxen, he likewise moistened them with sauces, which rendered this food inoffensive and light. Lastly, under all circumstances, he was careful at his repasts, and consulted me often. At present, however, when I prohibit any dish, he disobeys me and says,—'I shall eat of it, in spite of the nose and the beard of Yahya?' What can I do in the matter?' The narrator adds, "Mo'tasem, concealed behind a curtain, was listening to us. I replied to the physician—'Well, Yahya, you must use force.' 'May my life be a ransom for yours; but I cannot contradict him, I dare not oppose him.' He had scarcely uttered these words, when the Khalif made his appearance before us and said,—'What have you been talking of with Yahya?' 'Prince of the Believers, I conversed with him on the change in your looks, and your want of appetite, which distresses me.' 'And what has he replied to you?' 'He complains that, whereas you formerly accepted his advice, and followed his prescriptions in your regimen, you now disobey him.' 'What have you replied to that?' asked the Khalif. I tried to turn the conversation to another subject; but he added laughing:—'But will I obey him before, or after he has used force?' A cold perspiration broke out all over my body; I understood that he had overheard our conversation, but he added, laughing,—'Ahmad! May God pardon you! You have taken gaily what I thought you would learn with grief; but I discover in your words a certain frankness and familiarity.'"

2.—It is said that the Khalif Mo'tasem had gathered together some of his courtiers at Jansaq*, to drink their morning wine, and had ordered each of them to prepare a dish according to his own choice, when he perceived Sallamat, the page of Ebn Abi-Duwad. "This," said he, "Is the page of Ebn-Abi-Duwad, who comes to see

* Name of a place near Bagdad. It is accidently Arabized from the Persian *Goshak*.

what we are doing. In a moment his master will make his appearance, and will speak to me about one A. B. of the family of Hâshem, about C. D. one of the Qoraysh, about E F, the Ansâr, and about G. H. the Arab, so that he will, with his requests, mar our plans for amusement. I take you for witnesses, that I shall this day not grant one of his demands." He had scarcely said these words, when Etâkh, the chamberlain, announced Abu A'bdullah. "What did I tell you," said the prince, turning to his companions; and, as these beckoned to him not to receive the Qâdy, Mota'sem replied:—"Unhappy man that you are; a fever of a year's duration would be more easy to bear!" The Qâdy entered and saluted; but he had scarcely taken his place and begun to speak, when the countenance of the Khalif brightened up, and joy permeated his whole being, "Father of A'bdullah" said he to the new-comer; "Every one here has just prepared a dish according to his own fashion, and we take you to be the judge in this business." "Let these dishes be served to me," replied the Qâdy, "that I may taste them and give a practical decision." The plates were brought and deposited before him. He began to eat copiously of the first that was presented to him. "This is not just," said Mota'sem. "And why, Sir?" "It seems to me that, after having eaten of this dish with so much pleasure, you will give your opinion in favor of him who has prepared it." "Prince of the Believers" replied Ebn-Abi-Duwâd "I engage myself to do just as much honour to the other dishes as I have done to this one." "Be it so," continued the Khalif, smiling; "that concerns you." "The merit of the man who has prepared this dish is, that he has been liberal with pepper and economical with cummin; the merit of the next, that he was prodigal with vinegar, and parsimonious with oil. That which makes this other dish excellent is, because the spices have been put into it in equal proportions; as to this one, the author of it has given proof of good taste by putting less water into it than broths."—And, thus, he continued to ring the changes on every stew with praises that charmed him who had prepared it. Then he took his place at the table with the guests, eating with the best grace and with the best appetite, recalling to the mind the exploits of the great eaters of the first ages of Islâm, such as Mo'avyah B. Abu Sofyân A'bdhula B. Zyâd, Hejjâj B. Yussuf and of Suleymân B. A'bd-ul-Malek, or rather those of the most famous gourmands of that epoch, namely, Mysarah, the date-merchant, Davraq, the butcher, Hâtem, the grain-measurer, and Esahaq, the bath-man.

Wátheq, 8th Abbaside Khalif: Reigned from January 4th, 842, to August 10th, 847.

At the court of this Khalif there was a young man among the courtiers who used to stand up on account of his youth, and had not yet been authorised to take his seat among the more aged; but, as he was witty, he had permission to take part in conversation with the other guests, and to quote whatever celebrated proverbs, rare verses, instructive tales and improvised sallies he knew, or his memory supplied him with. Wátheq, whose appetite and gluttony are well known, asked his guests one day what confectionery they would prefer to stimulate their thirst. One of them mentioned the sugar-cane, another the pomegranate, a third the apple, another sugar-cane moistened with rose-water; another, rejecting all these things in the name of science, preferred boiled salt; whilst another, mentioned brine to dry up the throat, as the drinkers of Nebyd do in order better to support the force of the wine and of those things which excite thirst. "You have not got it," replied the Khalif; "and you, young man, what is your opinion?" "I prefer the *moseyuer-biscuit*,"* he replied. This answer perfectly agreed with the ideas of the prince, and expressed his secret preference. "This is well! This is perfect!" exclaimed he, "May God grant you His blessings!" And henceforth the young man was authorised, for the first time, to take his seat among the courtiers.

Al Motewekkil, 9th Abbaside Khalif: Reigned from August 10th, 847, to December 9th, 861.

Tradition has preserved the following anecdote, narrated by Fath B. Khakán:—"I was," says he, "one day with Motewekkil, when he had sent for his courtiers and singers, intending to drink with them the matutinal draught of wine in the Ja'fery palace. As we walked, the Khalif, leaning on my arm, listened to my conversation, and we arrived on a hill, whence we had a view of the canal. The prince caused an arm-chair to be brought, and sat down; whilst we were speaking with each other, he perceived a boat moored quite near the bank of the canal, and a sailor with a big kettle before him, cooking a beef *sikbáj*—hashed meat, seasoned with vinegar, pepper, &c.; the aroma of which spread to a distance. 'Fath,' said the Khalif, 'this smells like *sikbáj*, by Allah! Do you snuff the delicious odour, my good fellow? Let it be brought, such as it is!' The footmen hastened and ran to take the kettle from the sailor; perceiving which, the sailors in the boat were consider-

*A kind of pastry which was fashionable at that time.

ably frightened. The kettle having been brought to the Khalif quite boiling, and just as it had been taken, was placed before us. Pleased with the perfume and the inviting colour of the stew, Motewekkil called for a loaf of bread, of which he broke a piece and gave it to me, taking another for himself. Thus each of us ate three mouthfuls of the stew; then the courtiers and singers came, each of whom ate a mouthful; after that the breakfast was brought and the tables were served. The repast being finished, Motewekkil caused the kettle to be emptied and washed in his presence, and ordered it to be filled with dirhems. Accordingly a bag of money was poured into it, but as 2,000 dirhems were still left, the prince said to the valet, who happened to be near him:—"Take this vessel, carry it to the mariners, and tell them that this is the price of the stew we have eaten; but give the excess of this sum to the fellow who has prepared it, as a reward for his excellent cookery." Fath adds, that when the Khalif was reminded of the sailors' dish, he used to say,—“I have never eaten anything better than the seasoned *sikkáj*, prepared on that day by the mariners.”

Abu-l-A'bbás, the Mekkan, narrates as follows:—"I was a frequent guest of Muhammad, the grandson of Táher, in the town of Rey, before his expedition against the family of Abu-Taleb. I had never seen him more happy than during the days which preceded the revolt of the descendant of A'ly; this was in the year 250 (A.D. 864). I was one night conversing with him; happiness reigned in his house, and a musical entertainment was about to begin. 'I think I should like to eat,' said the prince to me; 'What ought I to take?' 'A woodcock's breast, or a morsel of cold lamb,' I replied. The prince ordered a page to bring a loaf of bread, with vinegar and salt, and began to eat. The next evening he said to me, 'Abu-l-A'bbás, I think I am hungry; what would you advise me to eat?' 'That which you ate yesterday,' I answered. 'You do not perceive the difference between the two questions continued he. 'Last night I told you that I should like to eat; but now I say, I think I am hungry; which is quite different.' He ordered his supper to be served, and then invited me to describe the pleasures of the table, of perfumes, of women, and of horses.—'In prose or in verse?' I asked. 'In prose' said the prince. I commenced thus:—'The best repast is that which is seasoned by appetite.' 'What is the best drink?' he asked. 'A cup full of a beverage that quenches thirst, and is then offered to a beloved friend.' 'Which is the most pleasing concert?' 'The tetrachord* and a young girl-musician whose voice is melodious, and song touching.' 'Which is the sweetest perfume?'

*The U'wd, or lute, which had at that time four strings.

The breath of a tenderly beloved mistress, and the presence of a son whom we educate.' 'Which is the most seductive woman?' 'She whom we leave with regret, and rejoin with haste.' 'And among horses, which is the most lively?' 'He, the corners of whose mouth are large, and the pupils of whose eyes are dark-black; who escapes when he is pursued, and who attains when he pursues.'

Mo'tamid, 14th Abbaside Khalif: Reigned from January 17th, 870, to October 14th, 892.

Mo'tamid took his seat at the table for the morning lunch on the 11th day before the end of Rajab in 279 (892). In the afternoon, when the repast was served, he spoke to his superintendent, whose name was Múshgir—mouse catcher—and asked him about a dish he had ordered the preceding eve; a stew of sheepsheds, prepared with necks hashed into small pieces, which were then brought to him. He had by his side one of his favourite courtiers, named Quff-ul-Mulaqqim—the big glutton—and another guest, known by the name of Khalef-ul-Mudhik—the buffoon. The first who put his hands to the above dish, was Mulaqqim; he pulled off an ear, rolled it in a loaf of bread, which he dipped into the sauce, then thrust the piece into his mouth and eagerly devoured it. Mudhik drew out a piece of cheek and the eyes; the Khalif, with his two guests, ate heartily, and left not a mouthful. Mulaqqim, who had eaten the first, gave up the ghost during the night, and Mudhik, at the break of day; as to Mo'tamid, he joined his two companions early in the morning. Immediately Doma'yl B. Hammad, the judge, waited on Mu'tadhed and was the first who saluted him with the title of Khalif. Witnesses were called, among others Abu Awf, Huseyn B. Salem and other assessors, who examined the body of Mo'tamid. Bedr, a page of Mu'tadhed, who accompanied them, said:—"Could you find any mark of violence on his body? He died suddenly, a victim to his continual libations of Nebid." The examination of the corpse by the witnesses having revealed no sign of a violent death, it was washed, placed in a coffin made for this purpose, transported to Samarra and buried there. It is also asserted that Mo'tamid died of poison, administered to him in the beverage he was drinking with his two guests. This poison is called Bysh—*Napellus thora*—and comes from India.

Moktafy, 16th Abbaside Khalif: Reigned from April 4th, 902, to August 13th, 908.

The following is narrated by Ahmad B. Yahya:—"The daily service of the table of Moktafy consisted of ten dishes, with the

addition, every Friday, of a kid and three cups of *Halowa*—sweet meat—the remnants of which were afterwards served up again. One of his servants, who superintended the meals, had orders to count the breads which remained on the table; the broken ones were laid aside for *therid*, i. e., soup; whatever had been left untouched re-appeared the next day; and the same was the case with the side-dishes."

Mohamad B. Yahya Sûly, surnamed Shatranji, i. e., Chess-player, narrates as follows:—"One day we were taking our meals in the presence of Moktafy. Qatáy—a kind of fritters—were served, which had first appeared on his own table; they were exquisite, of a fine paste, and perfectly prepared." The Khalif asked us whether the poets had described this nice dish, whereon Yahya B. A'ly replied:—"My paternal uncle, Ahmad B. Yahya,' has spoken of it in the following verses:—

"Qutáyf, well stuffed with almonds
And refined sugar, like plantains
They swim in the waves of nut-oil,
And I rejoice, when they fall into my possession,
With the joy of A'bbás at the approach of success."

Sûly adds:—I reminded the Khalif of the line of Ebn Rûmy:

'And after that came delicious Qutáyf.'

'This requires a beginning,' exclaimed Moktafy,—'recite the piece to me from the first verse.' Accordingly, I continued thus:—

"A *Semytah*¹, yellow like a dinár
In value and colour, served up by a young page,
Swelled almost like a goose by the fires,
It seemed its skin would burst when brought.
The *Judhabeh*² exhales its fragrant rain,
And lo! the almond cream with sugar comes;
How beautiful it is on the table in its oil,
The butter and brine simmering around;
We peel off the skin from the flesh of the almonds,
As if disengaging silver from leaves of gold.

1.—The *Semytah* سميطه is not always like the dish alluded to above. Sometimes a soup of dates, cream and starch bears also this name; whilst according to others the *Semytah* is a lamb first boiled and then roasted in its own skin. From the comparison of its colour in the above verse with a dinár, it appears to have been dyed with saffron as is often done to rice in this country.

2.—The *Judhabeh* جودابه which will again be alluded to further on, was of two kinds; but it was at any rate during the epoch of the Khalifs a kind of rice with melted butter mixed with sugar and saffron; also this we eat in India. According to the *Burhân Qutý* the above appears to be only the arabized form of *Gudáb* دباب, a stew of hashed meat with rice and nuts cooked in an oven; also with vegetables and other ingredients.

"First of all, *therid*³ was served, blooming
 Like a garden and worthy of the foremost place ;
 Then hashed meats, all garnished with the yolk of eggs,
 Serving them as robe and ornament ;
 And after that came delicious *Qutáyf*⁴,
 Charming the palate and flattering the throat ;
 The sugar-candy, spread over them, provokes our smiles
 And forms a dew of tears with the butter."

Moktafy found these verses to be according to his taste, and ordered me to write them down, which I did.

The same Muhamínad B. Yahya Súly narrates also as follows :—
 "About a month after the above entertainment, we dined with the Khalif, and a *Luzínjeh*—almond-cake—was served. The prince asked whether Ebn Rúmy had mentioned this sweetmeat in his verses. 'Yes, sire,' I replied, 'Which are they?' They are as follows :—

"Fail not to bring me that almond cake,
 The sight of which challenges admiration, or else I would be surprised.
 Appetite cannot shut its portals,
 But the approach of this dish unlocks them,
 If it desired to penetrate into a rock,
 Its perfume would make its entrance easy ;
 Its delicious aroma spreads around the plate
 The borders of which are surrounded by butter.
 Its external aspect gives information
 Of its flavor, rendered more exquisite by its beauty ;
 Although it is thickly stuffed,
 Its envelope is lighter than the morning breeze."

The grammarian, Niftaweihh, narrated the following, which he had from Abu Muhammad Ab'dullah B. Hamdún :—"We were one day conversing" said the latter, "in the presence of Moktafy, on various kinds of beverages, and we discussed the particular kind of *Nebydh* نبيذ which is called *Dúsháb* دوشاب when improved by the addition of *Dhúihy* زني and *Dibs* دبس, grape-juice reduced to syrup ; and we had before us a rare drinking vessel. The verses of Ebn Rúmy on this beverage occurred to my mind, and I was about to recite them, when the Khalif forestalled me by asking whether any of us knew verses relating to *Dúsháb*, and I hastened to recite these of Ebn Rúmy :—

"Take the best grains and the best syrup,
 Press them and macerate them carefully ;
 Leave them a long while at the bottom of the vessel,
 And then you will drink the very wine of Babel."

3.—*Therid* ثريد this is a soup composed of slices of bread, eggs, oil, vinegar, and garlic ; it is still eaten in the south of Spain.

4.—The *Qutáyf* قطائف will be poetically described further on, in the last piece.

'The rogue of a poet,' exclaimed Moktafy; 'What a connoisseur in wines he was! He really invites me to drink this day *Dushuby*.' The repast being served, a large dish of *Heryseh** was placed before us, containing in the middle a basin filled with the broth of fowls. The sight of this dish made me smile, because it recalled to my mind the anecdote of the Khalif Rashyd and Abbán, the reader. Moktafy, who had observed me, said—'Father of A'bdullah, whence this gaiety?' 'Prince of the Believers,' I replied, 'I thought of the story of the dough and the broth in which your grandfather, Reshyd, figures.' 'Let us hear this story.' 'Here it is,' sire:—"According to the report of O'thy and of Medáyny, Abbán, the reader, was one day eating with Rashyd, when a magnificent *Heryseh* was served, containing in the middle a kind of saucer full of chicken-broth. I let Abbán speak—I was greatly tempted to have some of this broth, but was restrained by my respect for Rashyd from stretching out my arm, and dipping my bread into it. I made, however, on the sly, a small opening with my finger so that the broth flowed towards me. 'Abbán,' said the Khalif, 'Hast thou made a hole therein, that thou mightest drown those who are on board?' (Qorán XVIII, 70).—'No, indeed, Prince of the Believers' I replied, 'only we drive into a dry land' (VII-55). Rashyd so laughed at this sally, that he was obliged to hold his sides."

Mostakfy-Billah, the 21st Khalif: Reigned from A.D. 944 to 945.

Abu Esahaq, known by the name of Ebn-ul-Vakyl, a confidential servant of Mostakfy, narrates as follows:—"The Khalif was living in a state of perpetual alarm. He feared that Mutiy would, after being invested Khalif, make himself master of his person, and dispose of it according to his pleasure. This idea was incessantly haunting Mostakfy. He often complained of the danger of his position to his courtiers, who endeavoured to instil into his mind a little courage and a feeling of security. Once he said to them:—"We will assemble one day for the purpose of discoursing on various kinds of dishes, and quote the recipes for their preparation, which have been given in verses.' A day having been appointed, the company assembled, and Mostakfy invited those present to recite the passages which they had prepared for the occasion. One of the courtiers took up the word and said—"Commander of the Faithful, I know by heart the verses of

* The *Heryseh* هريشه is usually a semi-fluid composition of wheat flour and hashed meat; it occurs also in the form of a kind of meat-pudding, as in the above instance, with a circular space in the middle filled with sauce, to which those who partake of it, may help themselves according to their liking.

Ebn-ul-Mutazz in which he describes a variety of *Kámykh* (small piquant side-dishes to excite the appetite). 'Let us hear them' said the Khalif; and he recited :—

" Profit by this osier-tray which is presented to you,
Loaded with vessels symmetrically arranged ;
This variety of red and yellow cups
Contains nothing that is to be disdained.
Behold ! a side-dish of blooming tarragon
Another red side-dish, enhanced by capers,
The perfume whereof charms the sense of smell
As if a druggist had powdered it with musk ;
Another with marjoram, and seasoned
With the best cloves, to suit your taste.
Here is a dish of cinnamon which has
No rival in flavour, in hue no blame ;
It exhales a musk-like scent,
Has pungent taste, its aroma perfumed.
Here is a side-dish of the garden-saturcia ;
Its colour reminds us of musk and of pitch.
The garlick-dish you here behold,
With an aroma that flatters appetite.
Its olives are dark, like the night ; they are
Encircled by slices of pickled fish.
The onions in these condiments shine,
As lamps of silver with fire in them ;
Round radishes, seasoned by vinegar,
In white and red slices, resembling
Piles of silver-money mixed with gold."

Mostakfy then ordered side-dishes exactly corresponding to the above description to be served, and added, that he would on that day partake only of such dishes as should be described to him. Then another guest took up the conversation, saying :—' Prince of the Believers, the following are the verses of the secretary Abu-l-Husayn, surnamed Koshájem, in which he describes an excellent diuner :—

" As soon as our appetite is awakened
A well served table awaits us ;
A skilled *chef* adorned it
With all the resources of his art ;
He brings it to us covered
With the most exquisite dishes,
First of all a roasted kid
With its tripes solidly knotted,
Surrounded by a bouquet of mint and tarragon.
Behold ! an appetising chicken
Which we fattened a long while,
A young partridge and a pullet, *fricassé*
In an oven with the greatest care,
Then pastry of fried meat, *Tardynah**,

*We are unable to give a description of the *Tardynah*, but shall insert a dish analogous to it, namely, of the fried meat-pastry, called *Sanbúsaj* سنبوسج immediately after the description of the *Wast*.

Red eggs, with olives at their side,
 The *Wast*,* in slices cut
 And mixed with virgin-oil,
 To stimulate the appetite
 And tired out stomach ;
 A sweet lemon, powdered with *Nedd* †
 And perfumed with amber ;
 Piquant cheese, the necessary
 Accompaniment of the *Wast* ;
 Vinegar, the taste of which makes
 The nose moist and the voice nasal ;
 Small fresh dates, resembling pearls
 Concealed in the necklaces of maidens ;
 Asparagus, with which you will be delighted,
 And almond-cakes, drowned amidst sugar with butter."

The Khalif, after having praised the poet who had composed, and congratulated the guest who recited, these verses, had all the dishes here mentioned, which it was possible to procure, served up. Then he asked whether any one present knew some verses of this kind, whereon, a courtier recited the following piece in which the poet Ebu Rûmy gives the recipe for the *Wast* :—

" You, who wish to know what is delicious,
 Have asked the most eloquent of panegyrists ;
 Listen to the recital I composed ;
 It is exempt from changes or gaps :
 O dainty lover of nice morsels,
 Take two slices of fine wheat-bread
 The like of which cannot be seen,
 Cut off the crust around their borders,
 Now place upon the soft crumb left
 White meat of chickens or other fowls,
 • Pouring around some grape-syrup.
 Place over this alternate lines
 Of almonds and of nuts minute ;
 Some cheese and olives will be
 The diacritic points ;
 Whilst mint and tarragon will be
 Instead of vowel-marks.
 When you perceive between the lines
 Streaks like the striped cloth of Yemen,
 Take boiled eggs and strew the cake
 With dirhems and dinârs ‡ ;
 Sow salt upon the rays, not prodigally,
 But with a sparing hand.

* *Wast* واسط, literally means "middle, between," but is a kind of sandwich, described in the next piece.

† *Nedd* ند is a scent composed of musk, amber, and aloes, wood.

‡ The little white and yellow slices of the hard eggs are here compared to silver and gold coins.

"Regale your sight, fold up your bread,
Eat it with appetite, and
Demolish the edifice you built."

Another guest now took up the word and said :—"Prince of the Believers," the *Sanbūsaj* سنبوسج has been described as follows by Esahâq, the son of Ebrahyin Muşly :—

"You ask me for the most excellent dish,
And you address yourself to the most competent of men ;—
Take light and bleeding meat,
Pound it with its fat, but gently.
Throw round onions thereon,
With green fresh cabbage abundantly,
Season plentifully with rue,
Cinnamon, and a handful of coriander ;
Add a few cloves, good ginger and pepper,
A handful of cummin, a little broth,
Two good handfuls of Kalmyra-salt.
Pound well, O my good friend ;
Then kindle a nice flaming fire.
Now put your hash into the casserole,
Moisten with some water, and shut the cover.
When the water has disappeared
Altogether, by the fire absorbed,
Your cake you wrap, if so you like,
Into the thinnest bread, with borders closed ;"

Or, if you prefer, take dough,
Kneaded with care, and soft,
Pass your roller all around,
Festoon the edges with your nails,
Then pour fine oil into the casserole
And let it fry in oil as is required ;
Then lay it out in a slender plate,
The middle of which is coated with mustard,
And eat, with mustard seasoned, this good dish,
The most pleasing food to a dinner pressed for time.

Another guest expressed himself in the following terms :—"Prince of the Believers," the secretary, Mahmud B. Al-Husayn B. Sindi, surnamed Koshajim, has described the *asparagus* as follows :—

"We have lances the points of which are curved,
They are twisted and plaited like cords,
But beautifully, without any knots,
Their heads are high upon the stalks ;
You would say they are dyed red
Like a cheek with a mark from an irritated hand ;
They might be ornaments like rings or pearls ;
An appetising juice overspreads them ;
There is an ebb and tide upon them ;
The oil forms over them a tissue of foam,
And, by infiltrating itself into the stalks,
Forms tresses of silver and gold ;
An Asiatic would, at the sight of this delicious plate,
Prostrate himself from desire, and burst from joy."

Description of the Aruzzah, or sugared rice.

How excellent is this plate of Aruzzah,
Served by a youth attractive like the moon !
This rice, brighter than snow itself,
Doubly purified by winds and dews,
And arranged in fillets on the plate,
Has the whiteness of milk.
Its splendour is fatiguing to the sight,
Like the brilliancy of the moon at dawn ;
The sugar sprinkled on the borders
'Twinkles like a ray of solidified light !"

According to the following verses the *Heriseh* هرسيه would be a kind of *olla podrida*, or pastry of meat, dry vegetables, and wheat:—

" The best food that can be eaten,
When the host is oblivious, and guests
Are waiting for the roasted kid or lamb,
Is a *Heriseh*, prepared by female hands
Deft and sure, light but vigorous :
In one casserole the flesh must meet
The butter, fat of tails and kidneys,
Almonds ground with care in a mill,
As well as salt and galunga
Which hands grew tired in uniting.
All other dishes must grow pale
When pages bring this delightful plate.
Behold it ! on the table placed
And covered by a bamboo-vault.
Young lads present the dinner with this treat ;
All hungry persons laud the plate ;
Old Sasan invented it in his time ;
It was approved by King Anushirvan.

Description of a Jūdhabah.

A *Jūdhabah* prepared of exquisite rice
Is yellow like a lover's face,
An admirable dish and shining,
Prepared by a good intelligent cook.
Pure like gold, its rosy tint
Is one of the creator's works.
The sugar of Alváz that seasons it,
Imparts a taste, sweeter than a lover's kiss,
The trembling moss, so richly oiled,
Envelops the guest with sweet perfume,
It is soft and smooth like cream
Its odor is of purest ambergris.
In the bowl in which it is served
It looks like a brilliant star,
Or a fine yellow Cornelian
On the neck of a beauteous maiden.
It is more comforting than security
Suddenly obtained by a heart oppressed with fear.

Another Jūdhabah.

A *Jūdhabah* of a Cornelian hue
 And taste like generous wine,
 Made of refined white sugar
 And beautiful grated saffron,
 Submerged in chicken-fat
 Is but the better for it.
 Sweet to the palate, it recalls
 'The saffroned perfume *Khulūq*.

The Qatāyf.

I reserve for my guests, when appetite goads them,
 Some Qatāyfs, leafy like volumes of books ;
 They are served with other dishes, and shine
 In their whiteness, like the abundant juice of bees.
 From them oozes almond-oil that permeates them,
 They are humid with syrup, in which they swim and sink.
 Rose-water envelops them with its ebb and tide ;
 Covering them with storeys of globules.
 Lying in strata, like fascicles of books,
 They restore joy to the afflicted heart.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. VII.—THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN WOMEN:
(Independent Section.)

I

IT is useless to attempt concealing the fact that the results of Western education applied to the youth of India, have been disappointing in many respects. The system has been successful in so far as boys have spontaneously found out that progress in the academic curriculum is the best means of getting on in the world. Much elbowing and pushing is required, of course, before the possessor of a degree or a certificate can attain the coveted place; yet there is such a large proportion of prizes in the lottery, that the number of the blanks has little or no deterrent effect. Happy the losers if the education were really an education, and not a form of what the French rightly call *Instruction*, as distinguished from *Education* properly so termed. Instruction is only the intellectual part of education. Education comprises the equal development of men's powers of heart, head, and energy. The Indian system deals only with the head, and even here it is one-sided, for it has hitherto failed to do anything beyond giving instruction in letters or Arts as distinguished from science. It has thus failed in the vast majority of cases to train Indian youths in correct habits of thought, to say nothing of its absolute failure to modify either the principles or the practical life of Hindu society—for good I mean. It cannot be said to have broken up the belief of India, any more than the Khalifs who stripped the pyramids of their marble casing, can be said to have broken up those monuments of a bygone age. If the beliefs of Hinduism pass away, it will not be under the influence of the present system of instruction—firstly, because it can offer nothing in their place; secondly, because it is not based on science, the true destroyer of supernatural* belief; and, lastly, because it does not touch the female part of society.

When a Hindu who has received this instruction and profited by it, smiles at the idea of his believing some gross polytheistic dogma, say—the existence of many millions of gods, it is often doubtful whether belief in that divine host might not be better than emancipation from a creed which, however absurd to people

* One uses the terms supernatural, superhuman, &c., as being conventional. But considering the deductions so often attempted to be forced by theologians from these terms, it would

be more accurate and neutral, and at all events less question-begging, to say *extra-human* instead of *super-human*, *extra-natural* instead of *super-natural*, &c.

with another creed, possesses at least the merit of being the basis of a system of morality which it was scandalous to infringe. I need hardly point out that a creed of free individual development, only limited by the sufferance of one's neighbour, leads to a gradual disappearance of morality, and ultimately to anarchy, individual and social.

Were the Indian system of instruction based on science, at least correct modes of thought would grow up in the place of the metaphysical divagations which are fostered by the literary system. Supernatural [Extra-natural] beliefs would then disappear in the measure of their being replaced; they would be kept as provisional theories of man's relation with the world, sufficient until better theories could be found.

The third weak point of the system is not overlooked at the present time, and great efforts are being made to fill in some measure the blank of female education. When the young man who has completed his course of literary instruction, returns to his family, nay, when the scholar returns there each evening, after his school hours, what influences does he find in harmony with the instruction given him at school? I do not think I am exaggerating, when I say that the female portion of his family regard it with horror, tolerating it only as a means of getting on in life, of providing for the family with which he is perhaps already burdened. Of two things one; either the youth is already out of the sphere of maternal influence, regarding his mother and the other matrons of his family with more or less of contempt; or, if he has any regard for their opinion, his educational growth is being choked amid the weeds of the medium to which it has been transferred. And we must remember that from the want of scientific education of thought, the intellectual soil is unfortunately but shallow.

We see a similar effect in French society. At the present day in the 91st year of the new era, after nearly a century of State-education on such a liberal basis that Protestants and Jews cannot take the slightest umbrage at the scientific systems of instruction provided for all, we yet find no perceptible effect produced on the stability of the old religion. Indeed, that religion was apparently in greater danger a century ago than at present. Incredulity was then general, not only among the educated classes, but among all who had ears to hear. At present the men are just as sceptical, yet they have had to practise toleration of the old religion and have found attacks against it quite fruitless. Amongst the women there is a distinct revival of the old religion, and not only a strong resistance against all attacks on it, but a vigorous attempt to win the men back. No less than 140,000 nuns, teaching in 17,000, schools are engaged in the work of female instruction. The

progress of the Monastic Orders in seizing the work of instructing boys has progressed to such an extent, that interference with these religious schools appears almost as if it would kindle civil war. The consequences of this long-standing schism between the male and female sections of French society, is deplorable in the extreme, and morality has suffered enormously from it.

Similar effects are seen in other countries of Europe ; I will not enter into details, but only mark the effect, the hopeless struggle of religious nihilism against the female instincts. Men, who can take care of themselves in the struggle of the world, who, in the first half of life at least, generally fail to appreciate the advantage of discipline in their own souls, take an entirely different view of the subject from that which women instinctively grasp. The view of the men is intellectual. The education which they have received has overthrown the idols of their childhood. Their father's example has prevailed against such teaching as their mother has been able to put forward. They accept with enthusiasm the doctrine of liberty, that each individual should "enjoy the most absolute freedom of developing himself by his own energies, in his perfect individuality." But the women, who are always on the side of order, of discipline, of authority, cling to the system which would guarantee the bulwarks of society. They hear the reasons of the men ; their minds are open to receive them. But all efforts to destroy the old religion fail—because no system of social discipline is offered in its place. Against this obstacle all efforts beat in vain. There is no use in destroying the religion of the men, if the whole of the women are on the side of the priesthood, refusing to leave a creed until a better is offered. There will be lamentable struggles, social disorganisation, but no solution of the religious difficulty.

Now the effect is much the same in India as in France, with the difference that the French State gives really scientific (though unco-ordinated) instruction, which tends to produce correct and organic modes of thought, counterbalancing in some measure the metaphysical tendencies of literary instruction. But in India the nearly total absence of scientific instruction and of scientific institutions, renders it hopeless to expect any check to the metaphysical divagation encouraged by the literary system of instruction. And for a people whose indigenous culture is already so intensely metaphysical, this is a deplorable evil.

Thus, we may resume, the effect of Western instruction on the Indian mind is confined to the male section of society, in whom it breaks down the old system of religious discipline, develops metaphysical divagation, often religious nihilism, and produces no balance of good effect on practical life.

The futility of instruction applied to one sex only has not escaped the observation of those interested in the educational system. But there is small hope of any change for the better in a country where custom restricts the school-going age of girls to a very small number of years, and where there is not the powerful motive of interest to induce parents to risk the evils which will very probably accompany the benefits of instruction.

I am of course speaking, not of the primary instruction of young children, but of the higher grade of instruction suitable to girls who are coming of the age when custom will require them to keep at home, at least in the classes where women are removed from the necessity of labour. However great may be the desire of a Hindu father to see his daughters rescued from ignorance, yet that consideration cannot weigh against the prospects which are likely to be endangered by an instruction comparatively harmless to the future of boys.

Any general scheme of education for girls, as for boys, will naturally be either secular, or else of the kind which is more or less openly avowed as given with a view to sowing the seed destined to destroy Hinduism for the profit of Christianity. Can either of these be given—the former so as to be efficient, the latter so as to be accepted freely? The National Indian Association, one of those new institutions now becoming common throughout India, is endeavouring to undertake secular education; yet the attempt excites mistrust, even amongst its supporters. The programme of the Association is not consonant with its principles, and one of its leaders has openly avowed that the instruction must be religious; that, without any attempt to impose the doctrines of Christianity, the system of education will be at least theistic and probably Biblical.

Now, for my own part, I thoroughly agree with the repudiation of a "totally godless and irreligious education," inasmuch as an education for girls is nothing, if not religious. For boys secular instruction is of course possible; I think it is mischievous; yet it is given, and it offers attainment of the grand object of what is called education now-a-days. But girls have not to get on in the world. Putting aside those whom their parents might destine for employment as teachers—the object of educating girls can never be other than to make them good wives and good mothers, having a proper influence over their husbands, able to educate their children in every way, up to the age of fourteen. And for this purpose what is the use of an irreligious education? Look at girls' school-books in this country, and see what is the aim of secular education. It simply aims at teaching reading, writing, ciphering and the storing of girls' minds with the answers to a perfectly

idiotic set of questions. "What queen gave twenty pounds for a pair of silk stockings?" or "What town of England is celebrated for the manufacture of straw hats?" His Excellency the Governor-General has recently recorded his opinion that the education given at Indian girls' schools is very defective, inasmuch as they learn so-called accomplishments that are worse than useless, and little or nothing that will be of practical value in after life. This evil is not peculiar to India. In England, girls' schools have always been celebrated for the execrable rubbish taught as secular knowledge.*

But let us suppose that the system of instruction in girls' schools in India would be improved, just as it has been improved at many institutions in England. Let us suppose the system of secular instruction brought fairly to a level with that of boys, and that the instruction could be kept up to the same age as in the case of boys. What would this system lead to? It would lead to the end which has always been that of mere cultivation of the intellect in women—disaster. The new system of the higher education of women has not been many years in progress in England, and yet it has borne its fruit, the attempt of the so-called educated women to enter into competition with men. Fitted to be the helpmate of man, his ally, his guide, his providence, the college-educated woman too often disowns all dependence on man and enters into competition with him in the labour market. I do not speak of the numerous ladies who earn a livelihood by writing silly novels; their fault is redeemed by the few, the very few, women who have given us imperishable works.† I speak of the class represented by those ladies who boldly advocate the assumption of the professional occupations and political functions by women, and hint not obscurely at marriage being a degrading slavery for enlightened women.

We have, then, no choice in the secular education of women,—either the silly cram of Anglo-Indian girls' schools, or the system of higher instruction tending directly to "female emancipation." Both are unsuitable to Hindu women. And, so far, the National Indian Association is right in disclaiming non-religious education.

* I call to mind an article on the subject of school-education published many years ago in *Chambers' Journal*. A mother, offended at aspersions on the English system of schools, declared that she had learnt at her school, among other subjects, arithmetic as far as rule of three. Her educational interlocutor replied: 'Madam, by rule of three you probably mean proportion; I believe

that there are five women in England who know proportion, and possibly you may be one of the five."

† Even here the effect of competition is felt. I know a lady who lives by her pen; but she takes care to remain unknown to her editors or publishers, and write under a man's name in order to avoid the inferior payment she would obtain were her sex known.

But is there any other possible? I have the strongest doubts whether Hindu fathers would allow girls past childhood to receive the religious education sketched in the programme of the National Association. What would be the object of allowing their religious ideas to be unnecessarily disturbed—even if the matrons of the family would permit such disturbance? I see no hope in this direction.

And yet I believe that Indian girls might receive a distinctly religious education which would be in harmony with Hinduism, which would improve their minds and would fit them to be the wives of instructed Hindus and the mothers of educated Hindus.

There are of course a certain number of Hindu men whose sense of true religion, derived probably from the influence of large-hearted parents, has enabled them to attain spontaneously the education of the heart without which instruction is a perilous charge. Yet these must always be exceptions; in the vast majority of cases the grievous defects of women's education cannot but render their influence void, or even mischievous, on the young men of the family. Women's influence lies in the affections, that of men in the intellect; but affection unenlightened by some instruction is nearly as bad as intellect unguided by affection. The superabundant quality of one sex can doubtless supply the place of the deficient quality in the other, yet, for this to take place, there must be common ground, some training of the affections in men, some cultivation of the intellect in women. Otherwise, instead of that happy alliance of the heart and the intellect in which each sex can supply the deficiency of the other, we shall find utter incompatibility arising from the want of common ground between affectionate but densely ignorant women, and intellectual but heart-dried men. Therefore women must have some intellectual culture, sufficient to light up their souls, to give them power of comprehension, to enable them to interest themselves in the affairs of male citizens, yet without any pretention to the full degree of instruction necessary to the well-educated man. But I insist that this culture must be religious in its tone; that there must be nothing in it to clash with that deep sense of religion which is, and should be, the greater part of woman's soul. Only on this condition can she exercise her proper influence over man, educate her children properly and fit them for the proper application, in due course, of an intellectual training.

The education of Hindu girls must be distinctly religious and yet in harmony with the Hindu spirit. Making every allowance for the conservatism of the Hindu system, yet that system is progressive. Based firmly on the order which has stood for so many centuries, Hinduism is yet susceptible of that progress without which society becomes stagnant, if not putrid, and only awaits the hurricane of

revolutionary outbreak to be swept away. Any education, to be adapted to Hinduism, must itself be on a progressive system; Hinduism must make concessions, if it is to be saved. But I believe that the necessary concessions are in harmony with Hinduism and can be fearlessly granted. For any real education will be distinctly religious, and, in its highest development, will never break the continuity of the Hindu life, will never cause the educated Hindu, man or woman, to look back on the worship of the faith, the life of the past, with other feeling than respect.

I have said that all true education must be religious. In order to have a clear view of the issues in question, it will be well to begin by defining education and religion. Taking Dr. Alexander Bain's recently published work on *Education as a Science*, I find that he gives various definitions of education, and pronounces them all unsatisfactory. He quotes the German definition:—"the harmonious and equable evolution of the human powers," and considers it defective, as not recognising the specialization of individuals; as paying more attention to even development than to the fostering of genius. He next quotes James Mill's definition of education, as having for its end "to render the individual as much as possible an instrument of happiness, first to himself, and next to other beings"; and the younger Mill's definition, in the narrower sense, as "the culture which each generation purposely gives to those who are to be its successors, in order to qualify them for at least keeping up, and, if possible, for raising, the improvement which has been attained." After passing all these, and some minor definitions in review, Dr. Bain evades the issue and proceeds to the schoolmaster's art, the materials it works on, the powers it can bring into play, the value of the results obtained.

It can hardly escape observation that, even according to the definition of both the elder and the younger Mill (neither of whom will be suspected of any bias towards religion), the influence of religion must largely affect education. We cannot conceive of a man becoming an instrument of happiness by being crammed with facts in geography or history, or made into a calculating machine. Neither will the result be produced by teaching him the language, literature and moral philosophy of a nation alien to his own in nearly every respect, while paying comparatively little attention, either to his own language, to the poetry, to the philosophy, or to the polite arts of his own country. On the contrary, we can conceive of a man attaining the end of education by acquiring knowledge in the learning of his country, however inferior it may be, and passing on the torch of progress to another generation. For this end religious influence must be called in aid. But Dr. Bain disclaims any religious influence on the part of the school-

master ; his moral teachings must be of the 'honesty is the best policy' class ; even these are deemed to be beset with "difficulties and snares," while "the embroilment as regards order and method must become worse by the addition of religious doctrines and the religious bearings of morality." This is all our Professor of Educational Science can do for us. And yet what a power he has thrown aside in religion ! If there be any influence which could mould youth into an instrument of happiness, of progress, instead of making him a more ingenious instrument of disorder than he is in the undisciplined state, it is religion.

I will now take another definition of education. It will be seen to harmonize with those already given, while taking a far higher ground for the end of man. Auguste Comte gives the following :—"The main object of education is to lead us to live for others, in order to live again in others, by others, whereas we are naturally inclined to live for ourselves alone." I own that this definition takes but small account of Number One ; and am ready to admit any objection on this point, but, to those who think that man is generally but too much inclined to take care of himself, and that there is but little fear of any dangerous development of the doctrine that he should live for others, I present it without further comment.* Let it be taken, for the present, as an ideal ; I ask nothing more. Now this ideal system of education evidently subordinates the culture of the intellect to that of the heart and makes the discipline and regulation of society a most important factor in education. It is therefore based on religion. For by religion I mean not any theological formula or metaphysical wind-bag. I take a definition of it which embraces every religious system and includes them in its demonstrable terms :—"Religion is a system of universal explanation, regulating love and faith, feeling and thought, in order to direct conduct and obtain human unity * * *. Its action is to discipline the individual and to rally all the separate individuals towards progress * * *. The practical sphere of religion is the improvement of human order, its physical, intellectual and moral improvement."

This is Auguste Comte's definition, not of any particular form of religion, but of religion in general, the different forms approaching to it at various distances according to their vitality. Should any of my readers hesitate to accept this definition of religion ; should they prefer some definition exiling it from action on life, I will remind them that Comte's definition has been accepted by men who

* Any excessive development of rather than from a spirit of sympathy. the monastic or ascetic spirit proceeds from selfish, post-mundane motives,

would repudiate the idea of being Positivists, but who cannot avoid acknowledging the truth of Comte's view. Compare with it Mr. Froude's definition :—"Religion is the wholesome ordering of human life, the guide to furnish us with our daily duties in the round of common occupation ; the lamp to light us along our road, and show us where to place our steps." Elsewhere, he calls religion the spring of our affections, the light of our mind, the guide of our actions.

If, then, we accept Auguste Comte's definition, it is impossible to separate religion from education ; there is no education without religion ; there can be only that individual development which conduces more than any other cause to modern anarchy, social or political. The post-mundane purposes of religious systems can be put aside in our present consideration ; we deal only with the mundane action to which they are in reality but secondary. These post-mundane objects differ widely in every faith, but agree in being mere modes of bringing an external force to bear on man—that external object without which all but the strongest hearts fail.*

Men and women have lived, whose whole sanction for a life of virtue and devotion has been a consciousness of Duty ; yet how few are they compared to the multitudes for whom duty fades away, unless supported by an external force more or less respectable—in a word a Superstition, in its true meaning, the feeling of a Power outside of the individual, and above, or stronger than the individual. The fight of Duty against Ease, of Grace against Nature, of Altruism against Selfishness—they are but forms of the same antagonistic principles—is but a poor fight, if not strengthened by the feeling of this external Power, if not inspirited by practices of devotion to that Power, by worship. Whether that Power and that Worship belong to the Polytheistic, to the Monotheistic, or to the Positive system, is a matter of indifference, compared with the importance of their being in force, in all that regards the mundane result of religion, which is the same in every system, the discipline of the individual, the convergence of individuals towards the general good. And under any representatives of the phases of religion, the astrolatric fetishism of the Chinese State-religion, the polytheism of Southern Asia, the Christian monotheism of Europe, the Musalman monotheism of Western Asia, we find that a working religion must have a doctrine satisfactory to the intellect, a worship fostering the good influences of the heart, and a rule of life for the discipline of the energy. Without these, there is nothing but

* There are other than post-mundane, or supernatural, ways of bringing this force to bear, so that, as long as it is in action, there can be no objection in principle to including the non-supernatural [natural] faiths with those which acknowledge the supernatural [extra-natural.]

nebulous theosophy, materialism, and anarchy. And it seems to me that the system of State-education in India being divorced from religion, without a counterbalance of national feeling, of scientific method, of social influence, has an effect very opposite to that which its good intentions deserve.

I have so far spoken of the religious element in education, as applied to both sexes. I shall now speak, as far as possible, of the education of girls only. It is evident that the education of Hindu girls must be on a religious basis. The mind of woman, so strongly controlled by the heart, is not receptive of metaphysical divagations, so attractive to the other sex, especially when men are isolated from the healthy influence of educated women. She must have some distinct power to revere and serve. Remaining a Hindu, she will, if educated properly, gradually emancipate herself from the coarser forms of belief and worship, while restraining her male relatives from destructive and anarchic lines of thought. Thus, I set aside all idea of lady-teachers, missionary or secular, for the present at least, equally with any idea of purely secular education. When the young women of India are educated, when their home cultivation is sufficiently advanced to be strong against the attacks on Hindu religion and custom which must inevitably mix with the instruction of Christian teachers, then we may hope for real benefit to ensue from free contact with the European governess or schoolmistress. At present such teachers are out of the question.

I do not underestimate the difficulties which stand in the way of the education of Hindu women, especially the institution of child-marriage, which cuts short all culture of the intellect at the very age when it should begin. No attempt at forcing the school-teaching of girls at an early age can remedy this evil, for the years after 13 or 14, the usual age when Hindu girls are married, are the time when the true intellectual culture should begin. I wish that some of the energy brought to bear on the subject of widow remarriage had been devoted to the true cause of such evil as exists, the widowhood of women who have never really been wives in their adult age. As it is, the admirable institution of perpetual widowhood, one of the best points of the Hindu system, has been assailed, while nothing has been done against the cause of evil, child-marriage. No more striking example is possible of the powerlessness of Western instruction to modify the social system of India. Patriotic Hindus must take up the subject energetically and prevent the perpetuation of hereditary ignorance—ignorant mothers desirous to marry their daughters young, and child-wives becoming in their turn ignorant mothers. I am sure that if a few thoughtful Hindus, obliged to marry young girls, would treat

them as children until the age of eighteen at least, allowing home education to go on under their superintendence, they would reap such happiness in after life as would cause their example to be followed by every Hindu not blind even to his own welfare. Once the custom broken, it would only be an affair of time for public opinion to prevent child-marriage in India, as effectually as it prevents the practice in England.*

Granting this modification of a custom which is disastrous to all hope of true progress, I proceed to give a sketch of the system of education in a Hindu household where the children are free from the necessity of labour ; where there is a certain amount of ease. In treating of the home-education of girls, I meet at the outset with a difficulty ; it is essential for their proper education that the mother shall be well educated, and we know that at least a generation must elapse before there will be educated Hindu mothers. However, that is not a reason for despair ; let the father who is determined that his children shall be well educated, devote his spare time to them, and he will supply the deficiency in a great measure. I begin by pointing out that systematic instruction, in this generation at least, will hardly require attendance at school, and can, under favourable circumstances, be better imparted at home. It is the custom to send children to school when of far too tender age ; they do not pick up their letters any more quickly than they would at home, and they lose much of the benefit of real education. I lay down the principle applicable to all children, European or Indian, boys or girls, that a youth of 14, knowing two languages besides his or her vernacular, with the natural taste for the arts of expressing sound or form, well cultivated, and carefully trained physically by father and mother, is well educated ; is, indeed, far better educated than the average school-taught youth of the same age. I can imagine persons shuddering at my irreverence to the examination-idol, and constraining themselves as they ask, " Can the youth be well educated, when he has been taught nothing but languages ? where are Mathematics, Geography, History ? and how was he even taught to read and write ? " I reply that the art of reading and writing is acquired spontaneously among children who are accustomed to use pencil and paper from the earliest age, who are brought up by intelligent parents. It only requires an hour daily of pleasant

* I do not see the good of cloaking the fact that the English law allows marriage to take place at a shamefully early age. I rather take credit for the good feeling of English socie-

ty in proving itself wiser than the law, and raising the minimum age of marriage for women by three or four years. Let Hindus act in the same way towards their law.

practice at drawing from picture-books under the mother's eye, for the child to have acquired the power of reading and writing by seven years of age*. At the same time the habit of expressing ideas of form is encouraged. I leave to Hindus the choice of drawing, painting or modelling in clay, as the means of expression they prefer in the artistic education of their children. I know that there is, in some quarters, a prejudice against music, but this must be overcome; singing, so important for the effective rendering of sacred poetry, is an absolutely necessary part of the education of girls, and instrumental music is most desirable. There could be no more delightful part of home education than the cultivation of musical expression.

I have now carried the child on to about seven years of age; it has spontaneously learnt to read and write more or less well; it has learnt numeration with pebbles and can make small calculations; it can either draw natural objects in a rude manner, or model with some grace in clay; it can sing in a pleasing manner; it has acquired habits of industry by attempts at gardening; it has learnt sympathy with the poor and kindness towards domestic animals; it already has in its memory a pleasant stock of harmless fairy tales, which exercise its imagination. After this age education may safely become more systematic. Reading will spontaneously become perfected by the perusal of pleasing and instructive books. There are already a number of such English books translated into the principal Indian vernaculars; before long every household should be able, at a small cost, to have a library of poetry, history, and geography, from which children would be able to acquire the requisite instruction while exercising the intellect and the imaginative faculty. The arts of expression, both in sound and in form, will be cultivated, and girls will learn some musical instrument for the recreation of the family in the evening and for the cultivation of the religious faculty in men.

* Read what William Cobbett says on education:—

"My children are a family of scholars; each sex has its appropriate species of learning, and I could safely take my oath that I never ordered a child of mine, son or daughter to look into a book, in my life, Never, had they, while children, teacher of any description, and I never, and no-body else ever, taught any one of them to read, or write, or anything else, except in conversation, and yet no man was

ever more anxious to be the father of a family of clever or learned persons."

I have not space here to transcribe the charming pages in which the stout yeoman describes the education of his children. It will be found in the "Advice to young Men," and I wish that every one of my readers would procure that little work. Cobbett's vigorous and correct English, his sound instincts, his manly teachings, his earnestness of purpose, make it a delightful book. Even his crotchets and prejudices emanate from a sound instinct insufficiently directed.

During the years from 7 up to 13, or 14, two languages other than the vernacular, should be acquired. Which should these be? There is not the slightest doubt that one of them should be the language of some other Indian nationality. Under the ordinary circumstances of Southern India, it is evident that Tamil youth should learn Telugu, and *vice versa*; the acquisition of a second South Indian language is so easy, that in many cases another Indian language, that of some Northern Indian nationality, or the classic language of Hindus, may also be acquired. The object is two-fold,—means of communication with members of other Indian nationalities, and additional poetical resources.

The second obligatory language should be European. There are many cases where the language for boys must be English, but I can hardly conceive that anywhere girls should acquire this difficult tongue, so ungraceful in the mouths of Indians who have not learnt it direct from Europeans. The object of the European language in the case of girls is exclusively educational, and far more poetical than intellectual or scientific. Therefore, Italian is the European language which Hindu girls should learn, in order to appreciate the religion, the philosophy, the life of the West. If necessity did bring them into contact with English ladies, Italian would, or ought to be, the language of intercourse; it is understood, if not spoken, by every person in Europe with any pretension to culture; it is in direct succession from Latin; it is the central and sacred language of the West, the most perfect, the most harmonious; while its acquisition to Indians is easier than that of any European tongue. It has the best claim to be the future common language of the West, and therefore the future medium of communication between Indians and Europeans. By its means Hindu girls will be able to appreciate the finer poetry of the West. At the same time it would enable them, if necessary, to study many scientific subjects not yet treated of in vernacular works.

It may be said that Italian would require the assistance of teachers; this is not so. Its pronunciation is simple and easy to Indians, and follows the spelling absolutely; when a few elementary manuals have been written for its acquisition through the leading vernaculars, there will be no difficulty in a girl becoming able to read and understand Italian with ease in a few months. This faculty would put at her service a vast amount of poetical literature, and as a large number of books written in English and other European languages are translated into Italian, she would virtually have the means of access to the whole of European literature.

Thus, she would attain the age of 13 or 14 with a vast exten-

sion of the poetic faculty from her possession of two languages, from her cultivation of expression in music, and her sentiment of the beautiful in art. Her general knowledge would be ampler than if she had attended school, while she would have been carefully excluded from all corrupting influences. At this age the youth of either sex are ready to enter on a course of scientific education, fitting each for his or her path in life. The succeeding years before entrance on the more serious duties of life, will witness the training of the mind in the successive physical sciences:—Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Sociology, through the medium of works written in the vernacular. The depth to which different persons will go in these subjects is of course dependent on circumstances; and in the case of Hindu girls the amount of instruction need not, for some time to come, extend beyond what could be taught by books and explained by a father or elder brother. There will be difficulties enough in this generation—let us not exaggerate them—but in the next generation the task of education will be simple. I will not enter at present into details on the scientific training of the intellect in the years after 14; I will merely say that, especially in the case of girls, it will continue, as before, subordinated to the cultivation of the heart, and animated by religion.

And this brings me back to the relation of the system of education, I propose, with the Hindu religious system. It may be asked—are youth to be educated in the polytheistic system of worship? I return the question, why not? Polytheism comes naturally to all children up to the age of 14, and if acquaintance with it be kept as pure as possible (and I know it can be kept as pure as Monotheism in any influence on the young), no harm will be done. If the poetical faculty be properly cultivated, the Hindu girl will be accustomed to look only at the poetical side of Polytheism; its objective portion will be kept in the background, and an enlightened father will find no difficulty in imparting a progressive movement to the religious sentiment of his children. There should be no more difficulty in keeping the polytheistic belief poetical and subjective, than is the case with English children brought up in an atmosphere of Greek mythology. There will be no break with Polytheism, no burning of idols; a fetishist in her childhood, a poetical polytheist in her early youth, she will gradually have her eyes opened to the Law of the Universe, and while her faith is gradually passing to a purer phase, there will be no break in it—she will always remain a Hindu. She is no isolated being; she will have, I hope, an enlightened husband, who may be able

to explain to her the passage of the mind through the theological state and its final liberation from the bondage of the extra-natural and the extra-human. The bondage will have been mild to her and will not have crippled her mind. Fortified by a poetical education, she will have been accustomed to take supernatural ideas in a poetical sense, and she will always look back upon the polytheistic belief as associated with a happy childhood, and, on the whole, giving it a pleasant colour. She will not believe what a more ignorant generation believed; but she will not deride it. She will not give up her heritage in the faith of her ancestors, when her progress in knowledge has shown her that two and two always make four, and that the earth moves round the sun. Will she read the story of Rama and Sita with any changed feelings when she knows that it is mythical? When she is able to recognize in the triads of Vishnu, Krishna, Rama; of Siva, and his two sons; of the three great Pandava brothers, the personifications of the three divisions of the human soul—feeling, intellect, and energy, will she regard the mythology of the old Sanskrit works with any worse feelings than those of tenderness and respect? For my own part, I have no fear of the result. I believe that the education of women, in the way I have sketched, would save Hinduism from its present stagnation. Its progress has been stopped by the deep ignorance in which women have been kept, and all the efforts of enlightened men will be vain, unless they call the women to their aid and educate them to the level of their proper sphere in life, as the moral providence of man, superior to him in heart, as inferior to him in intellect, but supplying his deficiencies of sentiment and making him a complete member of society. There is a great truth in the idea of the Ardha-nari—the God incomplete without the female element of character.*

I conclude this paper by urging upon the people of India the necessity of a system of national education. Leaving to Government and to missionary zeal the task of preparing youths for the examinations in English required for public service, the National Schools should be independent of any such purpose; they should aim at giving Hindu youths an education in harmony with their religious system and comprising the science of the West—the whole taught through the medium of the vernacular. It would be

* At first the Hindu legend seems grotesque. But it finds, not only explanation, but justification, when it is recognised as giving expression in polytheistic language to that same feeling which throughout the most cultured, or, at all events, the most religious, nations of monotheistic Europe has been gradually substituting the worship of the Virgin Mother for that of either principal person of the Trinity.

necessary to start with Normal Schools, one for each nationality, in which young men, willing to devote themselves as apostles of education, would learn Western science and prepare themselves to become schoolmasters. During this preliminary period, school books would have to be written in the vernacular, and the great work of adapting the Western systems of scientific classification to Indian languages, would have to be carried out. There are large classes of the Indian population, especially amongst the mercantile and agricultural sections of the community, who require a good scientific education for their children and are unable to obtain it, firstly, because there is no scientific instruction really available, and secondly, because any that may be supplied, will be through the medium of the English tongue, a sufficient knowledge of which would entail several years' preliminary study for no other purpose.

For these classes, the instruction now supplied is valueless, and they do not waste their children's time on it. I refrain from entering into the details of the system of national instruction which I consider necessary. I only mention that it would be applied to young men principally at school, but it would also enable the instruction of girls to be carried on at home through the medium of school books written in the vernacular, aided by the tuition of those young men of the family who attended school. The conditions of the system are easily determined : its principle must be Hinduism, its basis science, taught through the vernaculars, and its object progress.

EDWARD NICHOLSON.

ART. VIII.—THE NATIVE ARMY OF MADRAS.

THE sepoy army of Madras is the oldest in India. It was in fighting out the great question, not at the time clearly perceptible, except perhaps to such men as Dupleix and Clive, whether the French or the English were to be paramount in India, that sepoys trained by European officers were brought into war. Throughout that time, and for more than fifty years following, the territories held by the English of which Madras formed the base, supplied troops who were in constant war. From A. D. 1750 to 1819 there was but little breathing time between the campaigns in which Madras troops were engaged. But since the latter date, when the Marathas and their consequents, the Pindaris, had been settled, the Madras army has, with the exception of a portion employed in Burmese wars, had no experience in the field for a period of sixty years. For, though some of the Madras troops were employed in suppressing the Mutiny, they were not used as freely as would have been the case had their true value been believed. At that time all Englishmen were suspicious of native troops. It may be said of the Madras army, that no army has had in its time so much continuous war or so much continuous peace. This is important, as exhibiting the position of the Madras army at the present time.

For when an army returns from successful war, the system and arrangements under which it succeeded, come, as time passes on, to be looked on as sacred; yet gradually the spirit departs, though the letter of the system survives. Thus the Army of the Peninsular war, which, at the close of the campaign, Wellington said he could take any where and do anything with, gradually lapsed into the army that invaded the Crimea, a splendid army for its size, consisting of five men, perfectly disciplined and trained for show, but from which the spirit of the training of warfare had departed, and it required to be taught by sad experience the first lessons of war. Lord Cardigan's reconnaissance resulting in a maximum of sore backs and a minimum of information; the inordinate time taken up for the formation of our small force in battle order at the Alma, and the desperate situation in which our army lay for some hours during the battle of Inkerman for need of a simple trench to protect an unguarded flank, are well known and sufficient examples of this. Thus, also, the army of Frederic the Great lapsed into the army that was crushed at Jena, and the army of the First Napoleon into the capitulators at Sedan and Metz. Just previous to the Crimean war, the soldier whose buttons were the brightest, was looked upon as the best warrior. Cleanliness is all-important in war, to escape

disease. As soon as any body of troops have any rest in a campaign, or whenever opportunity occurs, the utmost cleanliness should obviously be enforced. But the spirit of the rule became lost during long peace, and the letter was enforced to the pitch of absurdity, while the practice of advanced guards, rear-guards, or crossing a river in face of an enemy, only kept place in the "Field Exercise" by good luck; and the experience of small warfare of posts was entirely lost, though this really made the army of the Peninsular the efficient one it was, by giving a habit of ready resource to the leaders of small parties.

The Madras army is now in this plight. Long-continued peace has caused it to adhere to the apparent form by which its victories were achieved; but the spirit is gone, the letter alone remaining in vitiated form. Had the Madras army to take the field, it would do so, no doubt; the men and officers are loyal and willing as far as their strength goes; but the arrangements for their support in the field are cut down to a minimum, and it would take time before the system of indenting in triplicate, applying for sanction and authority for every trivial regimental action, and other arrangements, which may be admirable in peace, but are utterly unsuited to war, could be overridden. Till this could be done, there would be no possibility of rapid movement, and difficulties would arise at every step in each movement, which could only be overcome by officers daring to take responsibility on themselves, in complete disregard of the rules under which they had been educated as soldiers. This is felt rather than perceived, and it is therefore customary to sneer at the Madras infantry, as of little value, and the faults lying with the organization of the army are unthinkingly laid upon the troops. We have, however, no parallel in history to show that a race of men who fought so well and cheerfully for us during the time when our supremacy was at stake and any disaster might have proved fatal to us, would in the course of sixty years prove to be useless as soldiers *under proper management*. Even if detachments of the Madras army had not shown in occasional cases during that period that their loyalty and soldier-like qualities had not deteriorated, there would be no ground for the supposition that they had.

In the times of Clive and his successors, the fidelity of the sepoy amid dangerous distractions was the first desideratum, and therefore encouragement was given, that when sepoy troops were cantoned, they might have their wives and families with them. It appears, indeed, probable that in later times, following the example of the Indian armies led against us, they were allowed in some cases to take their women with them on a campaign. Whether the system was really ever carried to this

extent or not, the custom of the sepoy to have, residing with him in cantonments, as many of his family as he chooses to support, or as insist upon living on his income, has been a marked feature of the Madras army. There are many who say that, in the dangerous epoch of 1857 and 1858, this proved our salvation, and that the absence of all mutinous tendency among Madras troops at that time showed the wisdom of the arrangement. The argument is undoubtedly a strong one, and if it were certain that the troops of the Madras army were at the present time as capable of sustaining the hardships of war, and as fitted for it as their grandfathers, little could be said against it.

But the pay of a sepoy, though differing little, if at all, in the number of rupees, has undergone very considerable deterioration since the commencement of this century. At that time seven rupees a month was a large income for the majority of the population of India; food was cheap, money was dear, and the sepoy could, with his pay, support himself well and also his wife and children. But at the present time not only has the value of the pay deteriorated inasmuch as far less food can be purchased for the rupee than formerly, but also the custom of supporting families has grown to an inordinate extent, and there are few sepoys, I am informed, who, on marrying a wife, are not also, in course of time, saddled with the encumbrance of either mother-in-law or an aunt or two, besides an aged grandmother, in addition to any children that may result from the marriage. Nor do the relatives come only from the wife's side. I believe I am not overstating the case in putting an average of three or four adult persons who, besides his wife and children, live on the sepoy's pay, and I am told that the custom is so inveterate, that even a rise in pay is of little value to the native soldier, because more relations flock around him and insist on living on his earnings. To English people accustomed to a poor law and workhouses, by which the destitute and the idle are provided with means of subsistence at the general expense, this would appear at first scarcely credible, but the strong feeling of the native, especially in southern India, that it is the duty of every man to support his poorer relatives, even though they will do nothing for themselves, seems to take the place of a poor law. From an economical point of view the system may have its advantages. Expenditure on famine shows what might occur if a system of managing their own poor were not generally carried out through the country; but from a military point of view such a system, carried to such lengths as it is carried in the Madras army, cannot be too strongly reprehended. The pay of the native soldier is mainly given to him to supply food by which he may keep himself strong and able for hard tasks in

marching and in war. If, as is the case in Madras, in order to support a flock of relatives, he denies himself sufficient food for the purpose, his value as a component of an army is almost nothing, the hospital being his destination on the first opening of hard work; and if this be the general rule throughout an army, that army is of little use for war, where hard fare and hard work must be expected, and where the soldier's power of lasting depends on the constitution formed in peace time.

The facts are well known to officers in Madras, but it may be as well to give a clear example on authority. General Blake, commanding in Burmah, in a report * to Lord Napier of Magdala, dated 30th of July 1872, says :—" I was in command of my corps at Shway Gheen, and one of the companies remitted to India one month more than the whole of its pay; and this excess could only have been acquired by sale of its rations. It never occurred again; but unless closely watched, the sepoy (particularly Madras Hindoos) will dispose of his rations, and send the money to his family.

This is in itself an immense injury to the army, but the system also saps its very foundations. For while the campaign was going on in Afghanistan in 1878, it was found difficult to secure recruits for some Madras regiments, and the alleged reason was that the women were said to deter the young men from enlisting, fearing the war, because they might lose the bread-winner. During the Maratha and Mysore campaigns and for twenty years afterwards, the women would, as occurs all over the world, have been the first to spur on the men where glory and prize-money were obtainable. But long continued peace has now led them to look upon a soldier's career as being but a certainty of seven rupees a month with a pension to follow, and, fearing curtailment of this, and vastly exaggerating the danger, they imparted their fears to the men. Another reason that tends at present to create a difficulty in obtaining recruits is that the best recruiting grounds are just recovering from famine, the population has become sparse, and every available man is required for cultivation.

It is to us a matter of considerable importance that the general population of Southern India differ very considerably in their views and customs from those of the Upper part. Lord Ellenborough compared the Indian Empire to a ship that had been wisely built in compartments. It should be our duty to see that while the compartments form one whole body capable of efficient service, each compartment is in itself separate and not likely to be leaked into by others. I cannot pretend to go into

* Blue Book—Organization of the Native Army, 1877, p. 161.

the deep question of how far the people of Southern India are the residue of nations driven into the extremity of the Peninsula by the Aryans, or how far they are mixed with them, but that the languages and many of the customs are totally distinct from those of the Northern parts of the Peninsula, is well known. Many, if not most, of the recruits for the Madras army, have to be taught some language that shall be a common means of communication in the regiment. For this, Hindustani is generally taken, but frequently Hindustani is as foreign a tongue, in construction and all else, as English, and the more general use of the latter language would tighten the bonds between Englishmen and Madrassis, and also tend to keep the Madras Native Army separated from any evil influences working on the soldiers of Northern or Western India.

Mr. Forjett in his book, "The real Danger of India," shows, on the best traditional authority, for his father was in the artillery at the siege of Seringapatam, that at that time the sepoy troops were mainly composed of pariahs and low caste men. Such men have not the fine appearance of Brahmans, or those of Aryan race, but their loyalty may be depended on with considerable confidence, because they are raised in social rank by becoming sepoys. The Madras Sappers and Miners consist chiefly of this class, and their readiness and aptitude for all kinds of work in war is generally acknowledged. The mass of the Madras army should, as far as possible, consist of men of this class. But the letter is followed, instead of the spirit, and the size of men has too long been the general rule according to which recruits have been accepted or rejected. For gunners of Artillery, size is indeed requisite to enable them to move heavy pieces and reach to load cannon, but any man of good constitution who will readily obey orders, and can fire a rifle with some direction, makes an Infantry soldier, who, though he may not be showy on parade, is most valuable in war. A force of such men, if well officered, cheery on the march, and readily obedient to orders at all times, would form no despicable enemy to any troops.

Sir Neville Chamberlain has, in a famous order, said that the Madras sepoy is what his officers make him, and the saying is an epitome of the whole subject, for nowhere in the world is a more docile soldier to be found. But, as Sir Fredrick Haines, then Commander-in-Chief in Madras, pointed out in a report* to the Secretary to the Military Department, dated 3rd April 1875, a larger proportion of English officers is requisite than that fixed on the basis of an Upper Provinces or Punjab regiment, where there exists a class who may be utilized as Native officers. Yet the system

* Blue Book—Organisation of the Native Army, 1877, p. 28.

of Native officers as Company officers can be little more than a farce, when no payment of the men can, for obvious reasons, take place except in the presence of an English officer. If a sepoy has to receive two annas compensation in the Madras army, it goes to him from the hands of a Wing Commander, or other English officer. Sir Fredrick Haines in the above quoted report says, "It is a pretence to say that the Native officer now commands his Company. Minor punishments are all awarded by the Wing officer, and by him the pay is issued. Moreover, the sepoys would have no confidence in the due and impartial performance of such duties by the Native officers were they entrusted with the execution of them." In the British army it is felt that, however irksome the duty may be at times, the payment of the men is one of the great holds that links together the Company officer and the men under him. If that, and the watching that the men's food is good and sufficient and their barracks in good order, were removed, the influence of the Company officer over his men would be very much lessened. The men would see and feel little of his position, except during an occasional hour of parade. Yet this is what occurs in the best Native infantry regiments, for the payment is by custom monthly, not weekly, or daily, as used to be the rule in the British army. Owing also to the presence of the women and families, no close supervision of men's health and comforts in barracks can take place. An occasional visit can no doubt be made in a patronizing way, but any inspection must of necessity be superficial.

Where there is really strong prejudice felt against the presence of English officers to superintend meals or quarters, as in Northern India, the only remedy is to appoint Native officers and put as much faith in them as is justified by their deeds. But it appears more than doubtful whether any such prejudice exists among the general population of the Madras Presidency, and where it occurs in the army, it will be generally found to be the result of mixing soldiers of the Mahomedan classes, or high caste Hindus, with the Madras sepoys, or else of a deference to supposed prejudices on the part of officers, which tends to raise and foster the very prejudices that it must be acknowledged interfere with the efficient supervision of the troops. The Madras Sappers have the salutary rule that no caste is acknowledged, and all orders issued are to be obeyed. In the Infantry, on the other hand, there have been frequent cases where a regiment has been ordered on service for Burmah or the Andamans, and the Commanding Officer has been directed to inform the men that if any of them did not wish to go, they might volunteer for any other regiment remaining in India. If officers of British regiments were asked what would

be the result of giving the British soldier similar option in case of foreign service, it is probable that opinions of considerable strength would be elicited.

Many of the most experienced officers of the Madras army are of opinion, that little difficulty would be found in treating the matter with a bold, firm hand, and that Madras troops might be established in barracks and supplied with rations in India, as has been done for years when they are serving in Burmah or the Andamans, while it would be perfectly feasible to make certain that each sepoy had at least one good meal in the day. There seems to be no more absolute necessity, beyond that of custom, for the Madras sepoy to be burdened with an intolerable number of women than for the Bengal sepoy; and, when Madras troops cross the sea, they not only leave their families behind, but a good many of their supposed prejudices, and they often then cook and eat together nearly as freely as European soldiers. It appears to be the opinion of many who know them well, that, far from entertaining any idea that the shadow of an Englishman would defile their food, the Madras sepoys would be glad of the supervision of their officers, especially if it took the form of insisting on their being well fed and of enabling them to shake off the trammels of a custom which they all allow to be irksome and even tyrannical, but which they can only rid themselves of by being able to plead compulsion.

It is said that there would be little difficulty in fixing a proportion of the men who only should be allowed to marry—for Madras is not given to child-marriages,—or in admitting no one but wives and children of the men in the barracks or huts. Of course, under such regime, the term of service must be shorter, but it seems to be generally acknowledged that the inordinate length of service which has been insisted on, sapped the strength of the army, by causing each regiment to consist almost entirely of men who had long passed their prime and were unfit for the hardships of war; the object being to economise by diminishing the pension list. Till very lately no sepoy, if even over 32 years' service, when he was entitled to the highest rate of pension, could obtain his discharge unless invalided. At fifty years of age, a sepoy who has done his share of night duty, can hardly be fit for war. In the British army, it is found that a soldier who has done sentry-go during 21 years, in other words, is about 40 years of age, is almost invariably unfit for further service. There are of course many elements of difference between the cases, but the efficiency of the Madras army has been aided of late at both ends by allowing sepoys after 32 years' service to obtain their discharge without having to malingering in order to get before an

invaliding board, and also by rating the value of good chest measurement for recruits above that of mere height.

The present system, under which the men make their own huts, is eminently unsatisfactory, both to the men and to the Government. The amount allowed as a grant-in-aid for building huts is based, on what no doubt was a fair allowance at some distant period, but is at present quite insufficient to admit of good huts, suited to permanent residence, being built on the first occupation of a cantonment by troops. The principle was good enough in Clive's time, and suited to war, that the men should rapidly run up their own huts, with a little assistance from Government, but, for a lengthened occupation in peace time, such rude huts are necessarily deficient in ventilation, and are built with no consideration for the first sanitary principles. The money, therefore, that the Government gain by a small expense on the lodging of sepoys, is lost in a way not so clearly perceptible, but still of equal money value, in the diminution of the time during which the men can do really effective military service, in the extra hospital expenditure entailed and the temporary loss of service of the sick. In 1877 the Quartermaster-General of the Madras army proposed the building by Government of huts in lines which could be arranged with due regard to ventilation and sanitary requirements, each occupant paying a small rent to cover the cost of repairs, and, as a consequence, the hutting money now allowed would cease to be issued, and the troublesome system of regiments buying and selling their huts from one another on relief could be done away with. After full discussion of *pros* and *cons*, the Government of Madras came to the not unusual resolution, that it was a most valuable proposition, and one most desirable to carry out, and that it would be considered in the Budget estimates of the next year. So it may very likely stand over pending the period when the Wynad gold fields make the Madras Government so flush of money that they can afford some in aid of the efficiency of their army. To allow an army to fall into inefficiency (or a state in which it is unable to take the field at very short notice and maintain itself there) is not economy in the long run. It is like the action of an engineer who, when work was slack, should let all his machinery lie rusting, so that, when required for work, all his engine gear and implements would require fitting and doing up at a cost which would have amply sufficed to have kept them in good order, ready for instant work, if occasionally looked to.

For many years the question has been mooted and as often put aside, of dressing the Madras sepoy in uniform in which he could use his limbs freely. Most of the Madras regiments are

now dressed in tunics and trowsers assimilating to, but rather tighter than, those worn by British troops. In the olden days, when battles commenced at about 250 yards' interval between the combatants, it was an obvious advantage in India that the enemy should be unable to distinguish which were European soldiers and which were Native, prior to the lines of battle being formed; this would at the present day be also an advantage, but, as the action commences at much greater range, it is quite possible to put the sepoys in a dress more suited to the climate and to their habits, so as to get from them their full marching power, without losing the advantage of puzzling the enemy as to the best point to strike at. The colour might be kept, only the form altered, as in the uniform of our West India regiments. Like the question of the huts, this has been constantly brought forward, and the change all but authorized, but eventually consigned to that looked-for period when there shall be a surplus of cash and no special object to expend it on.

The age, and comparatively large number of officers of field rank in the Madras army, is well known. This occurs also with the other native armies in India, but is not so strongly marked elsewhere as in Madras. The present system of retirement gives every inducement to officers to "hang on," but the system that tends to efficiency is one where every inducement and even compulsion, in necessary cases, is used to cause officers to leave when the Government has got the best of their services. It is a military axiom that the worse your troops, the better your officers should be, and our Native armies should be thoroughly well officered by the best men to be got and in the prime of life, for no one will pretend that sepoys have as good fighting qualities as British soldiers. But after twenty years or so of the mill-horse round of regimental duties in peace, the zeal and enthusiasm that give young officers great influence over their men is apt to depart, especially where an officer is kept at subordinate duties. If the present system continues, the average age of the officers of the Madras army that head the list will keep on increasing until about fifteen years hence, when there is a break, and a number of officers who are now in their first years of service will fall into the command of regiments.

Writing as an onlooker, who has had the good fortune to see something of the three native armies of India, the following appears to be the present condition of the Madras Infantry. We have a force of excellent material for service in India or in any similar climate, and of unsurpassed loyalty and docility. But from its former state of high warlike efficiency at the beginning of the century, it has been allowed to drift along with no reorganization, unless occasional reduction of numbers can be so called. It

does not seem likely that the Simla Army Organization Commission can do much for the Madras Native Army. The obstacles in the way of its progress into a handy and smooth-working machine for war lie, as will have been seen from the foregoing, more in details to be dealt with locally than in any Imperial questions, except thus far, that every one component part of the numerous armies of the British Empire should be in fit order for the field, so that, should a war break out, we may be able to throw our strength into the earliest blows and thus render the contest short, sharp, and economical. Nothing is more expensive than a war dragging over years, but if our armies are not each of them ready, it will be impossible to prevent this ; and then all the little dribblets of savings effected by starving the organization of the army during years of peace will be swallowed up, in almost hopeless efforts to recover the time lost, by prodigal expenditure at high pressure on the outbreak of war ; the army will suffer for the want of forethought, and fall off, being replaced by recruits raised at a high price, as happened with the army that landed on the shores of the Crimea. So far, then, we may hope that the Simla Commission may be able to strengthen the hands of those in whose power it will be to deal boldly and firmly with minor organization and to transform the Madras Infantry from an army lingering under the cold shade of neglect into the army it formerly has been and might readily again become.

R. H. FAWCETT.

ART. IX.—ELECTION ISSUES.

THE appeal to the country which cannot now be long delayed by Her Majesty's ministers, is an interesting event to look forward to ; and the result of it both political parties in England affect to await with confidence. It would be perhaps a thankless task to attempt to forecast that result ; but one thing is evident, Conservatives ought not to be too sanguine or over confident, for there is no doubt that, while the actual Parliamentary majorities may have shown little or no decline of confidence in the Government by its own supporters, yet the opposition of its adversaries has assumed more collected and determined proportions, and a large section of public opinion, as represented by news writers and the like, have seceded more or less from their former adherence to the Government of which they originally were staunch supporters. Another thing has unquestionably been telling against the Government of late, which may be the effect of the moribund condition which legislators are credited with falling into after they have enjoyed six or seven years of power, but which, nevertheless, equally turns influences against them, *viz.*, the regular and persistent way in which their policy is impugned and condemned without these attacks being reciprocated and carried into the enemy's country ; or where a solitary reply may have been given, it has generally been apologetic, and always leaves on the mind of those who would like to see the policy which they have approved boldly vindicated, the impression that much has been left unsaid that ought to have been said.

But whatever may be the result of the elections, it is not an inopportune moment to look briefly back and see to what extent the Government are deserving of the confidence which the country has so long reposed in them, and to analyse the temper and spirit of the Parliamentary opposition which has been offered to them.

When a Government comes into power, pledged to carry out any extensive scheme of reform, or to revolutionize some ancient national institution, it knows that it may expect an obstinate, and, it may be, an embittered, opposition from those who refuse to see the necessity for the step, and who dislike to have settled customs interfered with, when not palpably an inconvenience. On the accession of the present Government to power, this was not the case. The country had been glutted with Parliamentary strife, and was wearied with a policy that made economy at all costs its watch-word, and appeared to respect no interest at home, while it hesitated and faltered before its responsibilities abroad. Thus the

Conservative Government entered into power with the avowed intention of merely smoothing down difficulties and rounding off edges. The Liberals professed a concurrence in the unmis-takeable expression of the national feeling, and started with the determination to give the Conservatives a fair trial, as they put it, with a certain air of condescension that smacked somewhat of the intolerant spirit which they have since displayed.

For a time all went smoothly. The great chief of the Liberal party, who had led them through many a successful fight, and who also had achieved for them the most signal defeat their party had sustained for nearly half a century, darkly hinted his intentions of retiring into private life, and relinquishing those scenes of party strife in which he had for so long taken a leading part and been a principal actor. The prospects of Liberalism looked gloomy, and even Conservatives grumbled that they had no regular opposition to deal with.

But stormier times were at hand. While a political calm reigned unruffled upon the sphere of home politics, matters abroad assumed a threatening aspect. The troubled cloud of Eastern complications gathered fast on the horizon. Russia's schemes were ripening, and the time was approaching, she hoped, to pluck the fruit. She had settled with Germany and Austria, the only two Powers she cared to consult, by the Triple Alliance Scheme ; and she had only a short time before tested the amount of opposition to be expected from England ; and having met with a somewhat abject submission from that power, she quietly left her out of account for the future. Hence she threw off the mask with but little delay. But England, for the first time for many years, happened to be ruled by individuals of a different stamp from those Russia had of late been accustomed to deal with, and whose principles were not of that pliant construction which can forego and surrender rights when justice demands their retention. These statesmen found England hedged in by pledges which clashed at once with the line Russia was pursuing. Hence, they immediately showed front.

Russia was surprised, but appeared determined ; and things looked gloomy and threatening.

It is easy to conjecture what might have happened had the Liberal party at this time assisted the Government to check Russian encroachments, and to insist on the maintenance of those treaties which they themselves had but recently negotiated ; one of two contingencies must have happened, and to the minds of all Conservatives either would have been preferable to the middle course pursued by England. Either Russia would have remained fixed in her intention of attacking Turkey, or she would have

receded from it. Had she adopted the former course, then there can be no doubt the Government of England would have accepted the challenge, had but the country supported them, and we should have entered the lists in the defence of Turkey, thus saving our national honor, preserving inviolate what ought to be the sacredness of international compacts and baulking Russia in her schemes of aggrandizement. On the other hand, had Russia gone back, as was highly probable, from her intentions, then Europe would have been saved from the horrors of a bloody war, and the rights of nations been respected as well.

But this straightforward line of action was not adopted by England. At the very moment when it was of importance that England, of all nations, should present a united and decided front towards Europe, upstarted the ex-leader of the State and set the ball agoing, which, partly from the suddenness of the thing, and partly from the inability of the people to gauge accurately the meaning of what was laid before them, rent the country into two factions and divided it against itself.

It is interesting to recall and note the nature of this opposition, started so violently. As yet the Government had made no distinct declaration of the exact line it intended to follow, as up to the time of the Bulgarian atrocities Russia had not publicly avowed her intentions. What ought to have been expected from a statesman who only within a short period had relinquished the reins of power, and who was acquainted with, and had hitherto given, official countenance to the traditional and necessary policy followed by this country with reference to Russia and Turkey, and, supposing him to have changed his ideas with reference to that policy, and to be desirous of pointing out to the Government and country the necessity of altering it? One might have expected powerful but temperate harangues in Parliament, pointing out the dangers and errors of a too strict adherence to old treaties, and arguments showing the altered conditions which rendered necessary a revision of such treaties; and if such arguments, laid before the high intelligence of an English Parliament, who alone in a case of such vital concern to the country could be competent to form the accurate and rapid judgment required to meet the case, had been adjudged by that Parliament to be sound, then the decision would have settled the matter and been accepted by all. But Mr. Gladstone did none of this. He collected mobs and stumped the country. He harangued the rabble in flowery and violent oratory, holding up the Turks as a nation of beasts to be swept aside, and the Russians as a body of philanthropic crusaders to be encouraged and even assisted; while all was interspersed with a bitter and unnecessary antagonism to

the Conservative Government, whom, to such lengths did his unseemly violence go, he accused of indirectly abetting the massacres in Bulgaria. This was the beginning of the tactics pursued by the present opposition, and a fair sample of what it has been throughout.

For a time Mr. Gladstone stood alone, as he had fairly sprung a mine upon the political world, and the opposition hesitated between their conscience and their party. But his name had possessed, and did then possess, a great influence in the country, and it was popularly believed the People's William could do no wrong. Hence his persistency soon gained adherents and gathered support from those who regard the Tory as their direct foe. The whole matter grew into a popular excitement. The radical faction joined *en masse*, and the tag-rag and bob-tail of the Liberal party soon lent a willing hand when they found it was a case of abusing their political adversaries, and an opportunity to let forth the spleen which, bottled up and labelled forbearance for a fair Conservative trial, had been eating their vitals out. Hence the hands of the Government were tied and their power weakened when the blow came, and hence their inability to take that step at the outset which might have placed them clear of every subsequent complication that has arisen, or may yet arise, even if English blood had to flow for it. But the nation had been lashed into such unreasonable frenzy by the way its feelings were played on by the details of the Bulgarian atrocities, that it lost its head, and the action of the Government was not only hampered but practically annulled.

Being balked, then, by the violent excitement into which Mr. Gladstone threw the country, from following a course which would have preserved the peace of Europe, or given Russia a task which was beyond her power, the Government did their best to restrict and confine the extent of the war. In this laudable endeavour, however, they got no assistance from the opposition. They accused the Government daily of deceiving the country and doing their best by underhand means to drag England into a useless war, while professing with their lips to be labouring to avoid it; but whenever they had the temerity to bring any particular point before the notice of Parliament, the injustice and inaccuracy of their accusations were always laid scathingly bare, and the judgment of Parliament was invariably expressed strongly in favor of the policy of the Government; nor did the opposition on any occasion, while condemning the Government, suggest any alternative policy which they could agree upon among themselves, or which offered a single inducement to recommend it to Parliament or the country. Mr. Gladstone went down to the

House of Commons, in his senseless agitation against the Government, with his famous five Resolutions, which were to have exposed the Government so damuably. But the recollection of that event may make Conservatives smile. The production of the Resolutions spread utter consternation even among his closest friends. They were a glaring condemnation of the inconsistency of himself and his party, and could have brought nothing but disastrous defeat on their heads. He was prevailed on to withdraw two or three of them, and the remainder, though colored down to an almost meaningless form, were next to laughed out of the House. Yet, this is an excellent example of the tone and character of the opposition offered to the Government during those troubled times when their hands were full and their heads occupied with the task of preserving England from the dangers that threatened her from her enemies abroad.

It cannot be denied that there was a considerable body of Liberals who fought shy of going to the violent lengths of the rest, but they, by their silence, must be judged as having acquiesced, and must accept the position of being ranked with the more unscrupulous, especially as latterly they appear to have allowed themselves to be carried away by the stream, and to have accepted the situation of meaningless antagonism to every act of a Conservative Government. At any rate, one thing is certain, that history will not stop to draw the line, and that the stigma of unpatriotic behaviour, which they have undoubtedly drawn upon themselves, will accrue to the whole.

Thus matters went on for a couple of years. The country was engrossed with foreign politics, and parties hardly troubled themselves to examine the Home policy of the Government. Some useful legislation was nevertheless got through, and that more was not accomplished, was not their fault, but mainly owing to the system of opposition, or rather want of system, which, inaugurated by Mr. Gladstone, split the Liberals into many sections, most of them led by its own fussy nobodies, whose only idea was one of enmity to the Government, and who, being themselves ignorant of the matters they affected to criticise, constantly raised debates and bothered and badgered the Government for information on every subject, regardless of the injury a premature disclosure of such information might have on the conduct of affairs, or of the necessity for affording it, and heedless of the waste of time which ensued and which might have been employed for better purposes.

Then came the conclusion of the Turkish war, and the arrival of that moment which had been foreseen by the Government, when Russian ambition would directly menace England as well as

Turkey. They prepared to avert that calamity, by force if need be; but their endeavours to place England on a footing fit to enforce her demands if necessary, were always met by the most violent and quite unscrupulous, or at any rate, quite unreasoning, opposition from that party who had made it their unwavering obligation to thwart and bring discredit upon their political opponents; or, as Mr. Gladstone himself expressed it, their unwearying task for three years to counterbalance the designs of a Conservative Government.

But Russia drew back and the Treaty of Berlin was substituted for the Treaty of San Stefano. From this event dates the growth of a new opposition; but on examining the reasons for it, it will appear to most supporters of the Government that their policy has been both sound and judicious. There had ever been a considerable party in England who maintained that in an armed resistance to Russia alone there existed any chance of a durable settlement of the rival claims of those two countries. They had urged on the Government the necessity of an uncompromising resistance at the outset to the Russian pretensions, and they had deplored the events which had prevented such resistance being offered. They were then branded as alarmists and fire-eaters. On the preparations of this country for a possible war with Russia towards the close of the Turkish campaign, and when the voice of the country would undoubtedly have supported such a war, they fancied they saw an excellent opportunity for remedying the mistake which had been made at the outset. This party is represented chiefly by the views held in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and a few minor newspapers. For them the Treaty of Berlin was a bitter disappointment, and they have never forgiven the Government for having had a hand in it. They predicted its entire failure as a means of keeping the peace, and they have constantly striven to show that its terms have not been kept, and that it has virtually lapsed into the old Treaty of San Stefano. But to most Conservatives it must appear that the Government acted well and wisely in avoiding war if they could possibly help it at so late a date as that. The time had passed away when a couple of British army corps could undoubtedly—as we now see—have turned aside the tide of Russian invasion, and caused the wave to recoil on the aggressor; and England would only have been justified in going to the extreme of declaring war, had Russia refused to retrace those steps which placed her as a direct menace on England's highroad. The Government would but have stultified itself, had it laid itself open to the accusation of having left Turkey to its fate and when that country's armies lay shattered, demoralised and scattered, and Constantinople was threatened by two or three hundred thousand Russian troops

flushed with success, of having then stepped in with the paltry number we can put in the field, and prolonged the contest to the misery of the population and the eminent risk of ourselves. No doubt, had England embarked in such an undertaking, she would in the end have succeeded, but at what cost of life and money, and in what length of time it would be hard to estimate. No, the Government steered the country through those difficult and dangerous times with remarkable skill and unflinching energy, and with no little success. As far as England was concerned, the main dangers arising out of the war have been averted for the time, and there is some reason to expect and hope that the Treaty of Berlin will secure the peace of Europe for a season. In all this the Government have deserved the thanks of England, and all the more that what they did was done in spite of the ill-natured criticisms and the obstructive tactics of an unreasoning opposition.

Other complications have also subsequently arisen out of these troubles, during which the Government's acts have ever been represented as deeds scarcely worthy of England's worst enemy. The Afghan war has brought down on their heads as hard accusations as could be heaped against a foe invading our own shores. The Prime Minister was unfortunate enough, when epitomising the results which would satisfy the Government on the termination of the war, to mention that, amongst other things, we would strengthen our boundaries and obtain a more scientific frontier. The expression was at once taken hold of. He was held up as a ruthless adventurer, wantonly daring to carry fire and slaughter into a peaceful neighbour's country for the sake of bombast and territorial aggrandizement. You bully at Cabul and bow at St. Petersburg, said Mr. Gladstone. You have stained the Queen's reign with bloodshed, said Mr. Bright. Terminate your cruel and needless war, said the sapient Affghan Committee. Recall the Viceroy, said the Marquis of Hartington; while, above all, for violent and intemperate language stood the Duke of Argyle.

That the arrival of the Russian Mission at Cabul was the result of affairs in Europe, no one denies; that the Amir's hostility to us was due to the vacillating and timid policy pursued by the Liberal administrators of India, will appear to most impartial observers beyond a doubt; and that Russian influence at Cabul must be excluded by us, as perfectly incompatible with Indian security, has been admitted by every shade of politician, both in India and at home. But, as usual, these free critics of the Government, while railing at them for having originated the crisis and accusing them of being actuated by unscrupulous and designing motives, never suggested what alternative to adopt to meet the case. The Government would no more have thought of wantonly going to war to

obtain a scientific frontier from an unoffending neighbour, than it would have thought of organising a system of highway robbery to replenish its exchequer; but what man is there who can fail to see both the wisdom and advisability of securing, when once we had been forced into war, a frontier that would render us perfectly independent for the future of any like combination against us from the same quarter?

That the foreign policy of the Government will be the staple bone of contention at the coming elections, is an evident fact; and that the closest examination of that policy but strengthens the confidence hitherto reposed in Lord Beaconsfield's Government, ought to be palpable to any impartial and unprejudiced mind; while the tactics pursued, and the animus displayed, by Her Majesty's opposition can only recoil on them to their own confusion and disgrace. Mr. Gladstone ventured to assert that the Tories have done more to separate parties and intensify party feeling than any other Government he could recall; but the man's judgment must simply be warped not to see that that embittered feeling exists almost solely in his own ranks, and was started directly, if not wholly, by himself.

The Conservatives, as an opposition, and while obliged to look on at the thin edge of the wedge of destruction driven into institutions the preservation of which was sacred to their creed, and to witness the humiliation and practical obliteration of their country before the eyes of Europe, yet ever treated their opponents as honourable and honest men doing their best, if on mistaken principles, for their common country; while, under the leadership of Mr. D'Israeli, they invariably did their utmost to strengthen the Government during foreign difficulties, and to show Europe that, where England's interests were threatened, political differences disappeared as the wind. This their antagonists have neither appreciated nor reciprocated, to the great detriment of the country's position and the disturbance of the balance of power in Europe.

But during all these years of political warfare they have managed to produce nothing more than a few indefinite and meaningless general accusations, which, from their inherent vagueness, have never been thought worthy of refutation. The policy of the Conservatives has been a policy of Imperialism, dashed with a species of low buffoonery called Jingoism; the Government has been a Government of surprises, daring and doing unconstitutional deeds in the dark, laughing in their sleeves at the way they have tricked Parliament and the country. Orators have painted showy pictures of this state of things, and stamped them as the production of a Conservative Government, and no doubt they will

succeed in catching many an unthinking vote and persuading many an ignorant elector to confide in a Radical programme. But whenever these accusations have had to stand the test of unbiassed and intelligent criticism, they have completely fallen to the ground.

Imperialism took its origin from the assumption of the Queen of the title of Empress of India, but, so far from the Government having acted in a generally high-handed or imperious style, either towards the country or towards its neighbours, the accusation is utterly unfounded and unsupported by fact. By their patient perseverance and their confidence in the justice of their policy, the Conservative Cabinet eventually brought all Europe to acquiesce in the main in their views, as registered in the Treaty of Berlin; and Parliament has frequently declared by overwhelming majorities that the Government has invariably stood fair by them.

What Jingoism is, we have never been told; but it would simply appear to be this, that when the Government put its foot down at a certain line which must not be crossed, and made extensive preparations to uphold its determination, this plan so far differed from the surrender-under-protest policy we had been accustomed to from former Governments, that it was pretended not to be believed in, and stigmatized as boast and bravado; and as, happily, the necessity of going to extremes was averted, the appellation has been sneeringly retained, as the avoidance of war lent a certain air of plausibility to the accusation, and as no one thought it worth controverting.

The Government has been condemned for concealing and withholding information; but it would be an interesting thing to determine whether there has even been a Government in England, which, during such troubled or difficult times, has given fuller, freer, or franker information on each and every point as it arose, where such information could possibly be afforded without palpable injury to the immediate interests of the country. The fact is the Government gave the information, but the fussy nobodies who often needlessly extracted it for their own purposes, did not choose to believe it, as it invariably clashed with their own erroneous calculations.

It cannot be denied that there now exists a large proportion of electors who are ever ready to lend an ear to the latest or the loudest cry; and that the Liberal and Radical party, with least to cry about, have of late been the loudest, is undoubted, and it is quite possible that the preponderance of parties in the next Parliament may be reversed. But one thing will ever be a matter of congratulation to Conservatives, and that is, the knowledge of the real service done their country during their lease of power, and

the certainty that this must in time be recognized ; while they may rest assured that should a new Government be prompted by the principles, or act to any extent on the lines of policy, pursued by the Gladstone administration, it will as surely and as rapidly come to grief.

How could any Government stand in which existed an element represented by the ideas lately expressed by Mr. Bright, who maintains that, failing a reduction of military expenditure, the British should abandon India and confess their mission there a failure ? Such expressions stamp the man as utterly unable to comprehend anything beyond the limits of his own vestry, and incompetent to appreciate the magnitude of England's sceptre, or to accept and make the best of the world as he finds it. Moreover, such senseless sentiments trade on the ignorance of the audience they are addressed to.

What would an English audience have thought, had Mr. Bright recommended that, failing a reduction of the military expenditure at home, the English had better abandon England to the Zulus or any one else who cared to take it ? Yet the one idea is just as ridiculous as the other ; and as far as the amount of misery that would be created, as measured by the percentage of human beings it would fall on, or the amount of vested interests that would be destroyed and pledges that would be violated, and security to life and property that would be sacrificed, the surrender of India would probably show a severer total than the abandonment of England.

Such an idea is of course impracticable and absurd ; but it shows how absurd it is that a man holding such views should have ever been a Cabinet Minister in England.

These sentiments, though of recent growth, pervade the Radical ranks and are somewhat widely diffused throughout the Liberal party.

Unless they be renounced, that political party, if it ever holds the Government of empire in its hands, cannot hope to retain for long either the confidence or the respect of the people, who in the main are proud of their country and conscious of where its power and prosperity lie ; while always at hand to take their place is that party who make it their boast that they have ever struggled to retain the empire intact and maintain its privileges unshorn, and who have already shown that they have both the courage and the ability to do so.

ART. X.—A MODERN VIKING.

1.—*The Life of Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak, from his personal Papers and Correspondence.* By Spencer St. John, F.R.G.S., formerly Secretary to the Rajah, &c., &c. William Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London: 1879.

2.—*The Private Letters of Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., Rajah of Sarawak, narrating the Events of his Life, from 1838 to the present Time.* Edited by John C. Templer, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and one of the Masters of Her Majesty's Court of Exchequer. London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street. 1853.

IN a far off Island of the East there once reigned a Sultan, the inhabitants of one of whose outlying provinces had been goaded into rebellion by the tyranny of a Governor whose rapacity was limited only by what it had to feed on.

The laws and usages of the country were set aside, and the people compelled to labor on so small a wage that they were unable to keep body and soul together; goods were forced on them at the Governor's own price; the produce of their fields was taken from them, and when this was exhausted, their girls and boys were seized and carried off as slaves. If they murmured too loudly, piratical bands were instigated to attack and kill them. At last, this intolerable oppression produced its natural result. Half the population fled; trade and agriculture ceased, and poverty and desolation reigned on all sides. One tribe had the temerity to take up arms against the oppressors; but the result was only still more complete destruction. A horde of wild savages was collected and let loose on their country; their villages were burnt; many of their men were killed, and their wives and children were torn away from them. At last, all classes combined to expel the Governor from the province. Assistance from other parts of the country enabled him to hold his own; but he was unable to put an end to the insurrection. After this state of things had lasted some time, the Sultan sent a plenipotentiary from the Capital to try and restore order. But he was equally powerless with the Governor; and the rebellion seemed likely to go on for an indefinite period.

At this juncture a young Englishman, in quest of adventure, arrived on the scene of action, from across the seas. A friendship sprang up between him and the Sultan's plenipotentiary, and he was persuaded to lend armed assistance for the purpose of crushing the insurrection.

The Island was Borneo; the Sultan was Omar Ali, Sultan of Brunei; the province was Sarawak; the oppressive Governor

was Pangerang Makota; the plenipotentiary was Muda Hassim, and the young Englishman in quest of adventure was James Brooke.

Remembering that James Brooke, was not only enterprising and brave, but chivalrous and just, a Bayard *sans peur et sans reproche*,—it may seem strange that he was thus tempted to side with the oppressor.

Two explanations of the apparent inconsistency will naturally suggest themselves. It may be supposed, on the one hand, that he was deceived as to the true state of the country and the nature of the rebellion, or, on the other hand, that being aware of the real facts of the case, he acted in the conviction that success would place it in his power to redress the original wrong, and was thus reconciled to a course of conduct from which he would otherwise have revolted, by the reflection that the end would justify the means.

In the absence of any positive evidence on the question, the course of subsequent events might be appealed to as lending probability to the latter hypothesis. For James Brooke not only succeeded in suppressing the rebellion, but, by a rare combination of good fortune with righteous purpose, wise contrivance and indomitable perseverance, eventually substituted justice and order for oppression and anarchy in Sarawak. It seems highly improbable, however, that, when Mr. Brooke first consented to assist Muda Hassim, he could have foreseen the influence that he would afterwards acquire, still less his actual future position in the country. His own journal, moreover, points to the predominance of other motives, and shews that, though he hoped to be able to secure consideration, if not pardon, for the leaders of the rebels, he looked rather to the righteousness of the Sultan's cause, than to reform of the government, to justify his action. "In the first place," he argued, "I must confess that curiosity strongly prompts me—since to witness the Malays, Chinese, and Dyaks in warfare is so new, that the novelty alone might plead as an excuse for this desire. But it is not the only motive; for my presence is a stimulus to our own party, and will probably depress the other in proportion. I look upon the cause of the Rajah as most just and righteous, and the speedy close of the war would be rendering a service to humanity, especially if brought about by treaty. At any rate, much may be done to ameliorate the condition of the rebels in case of their defeat; for though I cannot, perhaps ought not to, save the lives of the three leaders, yet all the others, I believe, will be forgiven on a slight intercession. At our arrival, too, I stated that if they wished me to remain, no barbarities must be committed, and especially that the women and children must not be fired upon. To counterbalance these motives is the danger,

whatever it may amount to, but which does not weigh heavily on my mind. So much for reasons, which, after all, are poor and weak when we determine on doing anything, be it right or be it wrong. If evil befall, I trust, the penalty may be on me rather than on my followers."

Though, therefore, the ultimate result justified the means, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the arguments by which Mr. Brooke reconciled his action to his better feelings, were erroneous ones, based on an imperfect knowledge of the real circumstances of the country.

The admitted futility of all speculations which assume the possibility of things having happened otherwise than they actually fell out, is powerless to rob of its romance the discovery of unexpected relations between apparently remote events. That, but for a wound inflicted by a Burmese bullet, Sir James Brooke would never have established civilised government in Borneo, is just as much, and no more, a truism, as that but for the birth of William the Conqueror, or, for the matter of that, of Julius Cæsar, the *Calcutta Review* would never have seen the light. We may be the most rigid confatalists without thereby losing the power of imagination; and as long as the power of imagination lasts, it will continue to be exercised, now by the humour, now by the irony, inherent in the tangled web of history.

Born in Benares in 1803, Brooke was sent at an early age to England, and there received such education as he could be got to submit to. He appears, however, to have been a more than usually wayward lad, averse from studious application and intolerant of the restraints of school; and the consequence was that, when in 1819, having received a commission in the East India Company's Service, he left for Bengal, to join the 6th Native Infantry, he was without much knowledge and with little power of self-control. In 1822 he was appointed Sub-assistant Commissary-General, and from that time appears to have applied himself diligently to a varied course of reading. In 1825, when the Burmese war broke out, he was sent to join the army operating in Assam. Here his adventurous spirit soon displayed itself. Learning that there was a want of light cavalry to act as scouts, he offered, and obtained leave, to raise a troop, with which he rendered valuable service. While thus employed, he was sent to reconnoitre a stockade, and, returning, found that the advanced guard had fallen into an ambuscade, and been thrown into some confusion by a sudden volley from the enemy, which had knocked over a number of the men. Putting himself at their head, he led them to the charge. The stockade was taken,

but Lieutenant Brooke was shot through the lungs and left for dead.

The wound was not mortal. But recovery was tedious, and, during the protracted leave he was compelled to take, Lieutenant Brooke formed a resolve which altered the entire course of his career.

His leave, says his biographer, "had to be extended until four years and a half passed, and after five years' absence he would cease to be a member of the Bengal Army. His first effort to return to India was delayed by shipwreck; the second was a slow vessel, "the *Castle Huntley*," which brought him to Madras, July 18, 1830, just leaving him twelve days to reach Bengal. This was not possible in the days of tubs of sailing-vessels, so that he made this his excuse for throwing up the service. The fact was that he had formed many friendships among the officers of the ship, and they had fired his imagination with descriptions of the Eastern Archipelago and of China, and he determined to have a look at these countries."

He now sailed in the "*Castle Huntley*" for China, visiting Penang, Malacca and Singapore, on the way, and in June 1831, returned with the ship to England.

Here, for some years, he led a life of comparative inaction. Possessed of every qualification for a brilliant social position; handsome in features, elegant in his bearing, and winning in his manners, he was nevertheless of too over-sensitive and reserved a nature to take pleasure in general society. At one time he thought of going into Parliament, but he abandoned the idea owing to want of the necessary money. He fell in love and was jilted, an experience which appears to have deterred him from further enterprise in this direction.

The old yearning after adventure now returned, and he succeeded in persuading his father to find him the money for the purchase and freighting of the brig "*Finlay*," in which he set sail for China, in partnership with two friends, Kennedy and Wright, the former of whom commanded the vessel. But the venture proved an unfortunate one; the Captain's views of discipline were distasteful to Brooke; the friends disagreed about the management of affairs; the brig and cargo were sold at a loss, and Brooke returned once more to England. Towards the end of 1835 his father died, leaving him a considerable sum of money, and presently he determined to have a vessel of his own, and purchased the *Royalist* yacht, of 142 tons burden. After cruising with her for some time in the Mediterranean, and visiting Spain, Malta, and the Bosphorus, Brooke, in December 1838, set sail for the

Eastern Archipelago with the general object of exploring its unknown islands and, wherever possible, opening up intercourse with their inhabitants.* He arrived at Singapore soon after Rajah Muda Hassim, by an act of kindness towards some shipwrecked seamen, had drawn attention there to the province of Saráwak ; and, some one being wanted to convey letters and presents to the Rajah, he readily consented to be their bearer.†

With a favorable wind, the *Royalist* made a rapid voyage to the coast of Borneo, and, after a few days surveying between the points of Api and Datu, the territory of Saráwak was reached. From Taling Taling came the first Malays to greet the future Rajah. Having conciliated the good will of their Chief by presents and attentions, Brooke went on surveying till the 11th of August, when he bore away for the mouth of the Saráwak, and, entering it without difficulty, dropped anchor under the peak of Santubong, where the Rajah Muda Hassim, having been acquainted with his arrival, sent an officer of rank to welcome him. The next morning the *Royalist* anchored off the town and fired a salute of 21 guns in honor of the Rajah. On landing, Brooke was received by the Rajah with "marked distinction," and on that day, says Mr. Spenser St. John, "a friendship was commenced which endured until the tragic death of the Malay prince." After spending a week in Kuching, Brooke obtained the Rajah's permission to visit the interior ; and the remainder of the period of his visit was spent in exploring such parts of the country as, in its disturbed state, were accessible with safety.

Mr. Spenser St. John thus sums up the results of his voyage. "He had roughly surveyed about 150 miles of coast with sufficient accuracy to show that the received maps were utterly incorrect.

* Before Mr. Brooke left England he wrote a long paper, descriptive of the objects of his voyage, which is given in full in the second of the books whose titles head this article. From this paper, it appears, that he had selected Malladu Bay, at the northern extremity of Borneo, for his first essay after leaving Singapore, and that, from thence he proposed to penetrate inland, at least as far as the Lake and Mountain of Keeny Balloo. This, however, was to be only the first of a long series of explorations.

† Writing from Singapore to his friend, Mr. Templar, a few days before his departure for Borneo, he says :—

"My intention is first to visit Saráwak—a river whence they get antimony ore, as yet unknown and unmarked on the charts. At Saráwak I hope to get hold of the Rajah of Borneo Proper and go up to the capital with him, and, if possible, make an excursion up the river. I feel *confident* something is to be done, though the field is one remarkably difficult to get at. From the character of this Borneo Rajah, I am led to believe he may be made by good management and some presents, subservient to my views, but in case he fails, I shall proceed according to my original intention to Malladu Bay, and return by Celebes, thus making the entire round of the island."

He had visited many rivers, some before unknown even by name ; he had established a friendly intercourse with the Malay chiefs of the coast ; and had been able to spend ten days among a Dyak tribe. He had obtained much information, which, on the whole, subsequent inquiry prove to be fairly correct, though no man was more convinced than himself that first impressions and notes made by travellers who only spend a few days in each place are rarely valuable, except so far as they relate to outward objects, and treat simply of the appearance of the country."

On the 11th October, Brooke set sail again for Singapore, whence, writing to Mr. Templar, he says :—"I have been able to establish the most intimate and friendly footing with the Rajah of Borneo, the ruler of the country, and I have every prospect of being able in the ensuing season to see the whole of his country."

His next voyage was to the Island of Celebes, where he visited, among other States, that of Boni.

In the month of August 1840 Brooke visited Saráwak for the second time. The rebellion still dragged its slow length along : but the land Dyaks had joined the Sultan's party. The rebel Malays were thus materially weakened, and the ground held by them restricted to the fortified position of Siniawan, about twenty miles up the river from Kuching, the Saráwak capital, and the neighbouring stockade of Balidah. Such arrant cowards, however, were the Rajah's troops, and so little disposed to come to close quarters with the enemy, that there was but small prospect of the war being brought to a speedy termination without assistance from without.

It was under these circumstances that Muda Hassim, whose influence at the capital depended on his crushing the rebellion, appealed to Brooke for his co-operation ; and Brooke, feeling that his projects of exploration equally depended on Muda Hassim's good will and influence, and assured that the rebels would be forgiven, after some hesitation, consented.

"Fortune," says Mr. St. John, "seemed to smile on Mr. Brooke's resolve to stay and aid Muda Hassim : detachments of Malays and Dyaks arrived from the coast ; 200 Chinese came over from Sambas, animated by a desire to revenge the cruel treatment which they themselves had received at the hands of the Saráwak Malays.

"On the 18th of October Mr. Brooke started for Ledah Tanah, or the tongue of land where the two branches of the Sarawak river meet, and found the grand army encamped there under the protection of a stockade, erected to guard against surprise. At the moment of his arrival a column was starting to confirm the allegiance of the Serambo Dyaks, hold the villages on that mountain and secure them against the Saráwak Malays, who, pressed by hunger, would, it was feared, make desperate attacks on them in order to procure food.

"Mr. Brooke began now to appreciate the difficulties of the task he had half promised to undertake. He found the Makota, the the Commander-in-chief, as he ever was, full of the most elaborate and clever schemes to circumvent the enemy, but as unwilling as incapable of taking a decisive resolution. When urged to make even a false attack, in order to divert the attention of the enemy from the column that was advancing on Serambo, to secure the most important posts, he would do nothing—he would wait : and even when a white flag, the preconcerted signal, was seen flying on the summit of the mountain—no, he would do nothing ; he feared that the column was surrounded by the enemy."

At last, in a council of war at which Brooke assisted, an advance was determined on, and, after much unnecessary delay, the stockade was pulled down and re-erected within a mile of the enemy's stronghold at Balidah. This was on "a hillock, jutting out into the river, encompassed by triple stockades, and separated from the mainland by a deep dry ditch. Thousands of *ranjows* were planted around the fort, pitfalls with pointed stakes, and every other contrivance of Malay and Dyak ingenuity to prevent their defences from being approached.

The Rajah's forces consisted of a motley crowd of about 200 Chinese, fine men, but wretchedly armed, with fantastic spears, swords and shields, a few muskets, and "a certain number of curious weapons, consisting of long, thin, iron tubes with the bore of a musket, and carrying slugs ;" 250 Malays, the mainstay of the force, half armed with muskets, and about 200 Dyaks, armed with spears and swords. Brooke strongly urged the desirability of assaulting the enemy's forts, but his proposal was hailed as the extremity of rashness. At "a council of war it was subsequently decided that advances should be made from the hill behind the stockade to Balidah, by a chain of forts, the distance being a short mile, and that when the proper spot was reached, a battery, should be erected, and a bombardment commenced—with their guns and gunners, likely to be very noisy, but perfectly harmless."

In the meantime a fierce conflict was waged by the contending parties, consisting mainly of defiant shouts and firing at impossible ranges. At last the stockades were pushed to within 300 yards of Balidah ; Mr. Brooke sent for some of the European crew, and six-two pounder carronades from his vessel, which soon silenced the enemy's fire and made a practicable breach in the stockade. Again, Mr. Brooke urged an assault ; but his proposition caused a commotion "which it was difficult to forget and still more difficult to describe."

In Mr. Brooke's words :—

"Pangeran Usman urged with energy the advantage of the proposal, and in the course of a speech lashed himself to a state of fury : he jumped to his

feet, and with demoniac gestures stamped round and round, dancing a war-dance after the most approved fashion. His countenance grew livid, his eyes glared, his features were inflamed, and, for my part, not being able to interpret the torrent of his oratory, I thought the man possessed of a devil or about to 'run amuck;' ⁽¹⁾ but after a minute or two of this dance he resumed his seat, furious and panting, but silent. In reply, Subtu urged some objections to my plan, which, however, was warmly supported by Illudin, who apparently hurt Subtu's feelings, for the indolent, placid Subtu leapt from his seat, seized his spear, and marched to the entrance of the stockade with his passions and his pride desperately aroused. I never saw finer action than when, with spear in hand, pointing to the enemy's fort, he challenged any one to rush on with him. Usman and Sirudeen, the bravest of the brave; like madmen seized their swords to inflame the courage of the rest: it was a scene of fiends: but in vain,—for though they appeared ready enough to quarrel and fight among themselves, there was no move to attack the enemy. All was confusion; the demon of discord and madness was among them, and I was glad to see them cool down, when the dissentients to the assault proposed making a road to-night, and attacking to-morrow. In the meantime our six-pounders were ready in battery, and it is certain that the assailants might walk nearly to the fort without any of the rebels daring to show themselves in opposition to our fire.

A renewal of the proposal the next day was variously received, the Chinese declining to go unless the Malays would join them, and the courage of the Malays failing them. At last Mr. Brooke, thoroughly disgusted, declared his intention of returning to his ship, and leaving the parties to fight out their own battle, and in pursuance of this resolve, he started for Kuching and actually embarked his guns.

Now it was that Muda Hassim, reduced to despair, offered him the government of Saráwak, if he would stay and continue his aid. After remaining a month in Kuching, and assuring himself of Muda Hassim's sincerity, he accepted the offer, and again started, with his guns and sixteen Europeans, for the interior.

The operations that followed, were characterised by the same procrastination and the same poltroonery as those just described. A show was made of assaulting the enemy's position; but, by raising a point of etiquette, Makota contrived that neither he nor Mr. Brooke should accompany the storming party. The party started, but only to turn back when they had covered two-thirds of the ground. For no sooner had they arrived within ear-shot of the hostile stockade, than one of the Malay Chiefs began to say his prayers so loudly as to warn the enemy of their approach; and, a Chinaman having been killed by the fire that followed, they all halted, and, after more prayers, turned tail. It is impossible to avoid the conviction that the retreat was preconcerted.

Only one encounter of any moment occurred during the war, and

(1) In Malay, *Amok*.

in that the Borneon forces took no part. Mr. Brooke, having received intelligence that the rebels were attempting to surprise a party of the besiegers who were engaged in erecting a stockade, made a dash at them with his Europeans, his Malay boatman, and a Lanun ally, named Si Tundo. The effect was immediate and complete; the enemy threw away their arms, and, making for their canoes, escaped across the river. After this, they gradually abandoned all their forts, except Balidah, and ultimately, through an Arab Sharif, who had arrived on the scene, sued for terms. They required Mr. Brooke to give his word that their lives should be saved. This Mr. Brooke had no power to guarantee; and, after further parleys, they surrendered at discretion, giving up the fort of Balidah and destroying their stockades, on Mr. Brooke promising that they should not be plundered or ill-treated till Muda Hassim's pleasure was known. Then, says Mr. H. St. John, "came Mr. Brooke's difficulty—the greater from his being imperfectly acquainted with the causes of the rising—to save the lives of the chiefs of the insurgents, which he was fully convinced Muda Hassim intended to take. For this purpose he went down to Kuching, and begged as a favour to himself that the Rajah should pardon them. To this the Malay prince would by no means consent. He urged that their lives were justly forfeited, and that they must pay the penalty of their rebellion. To this Mr. Brooke could only reply that he had taken part in the war, and aided to bring it to a successful conclusion, under the full conviction that the Rajah would exercise clemency; but as he refused this favour to himself, he could not help doubting the sincerity of his friendship, and that therefore he bade him farewell. On this the Rajah yielded. Throughout the interview Mr. Brooke was oppressed by the conviction that the leaders had justly forfeited their lives; whereas, had he known the truth—to what oppression the people had been subjected before they rose in arms—he would rather have demanded the punishment of Makota, who was the cause of all the evils that had occurred.

Thus ended the civil war. The Saráwak Malays surrendered their arms, ammunition, and property, and the chiefs gave their wives and families as hostages. Siniawan was abandoned, the inhabitants were dispersed, the chiefs had fled, the army was disbanded; and the Chinese, finding themselves alone at Siniawan, destroyed the Malay houses, and built a village for themselves in the neighbourhood."

Before taking up the government of the country, Mr. Brooke was induced, under arrangement with Muda Hassim, to return to Singapore for the purpose of opening up trade between the two places. There he purchased the schooner *Swift*, and loading both vessels with a cargo of merchandise, returned to Kuching. On his arrival, Muda Hassim promised to load the vessel

with antimony in exchange, and Brooke was weak enough to make over his merchandise in advance.

Having obtained the goods, Muda Hassim showed no disposition either to furnish the antimony or to fulfil his promise of making over the government. The latter engagement, made under pressure of one kind, was in fact destined to be fulfilled only under pressure of another kind; and the warfare in which Mr. Brooke had embarked on behalf of others, to be followed by an act of war on his own behalf.

Muda Hassim was, it is true, guilty of other breaches of engagement than those which affected Mr. Brooke's personal interests. He not only withheld the antimony, and ceased to show any disposition to make over the government, but he sanctioned piratical attacks on unoffending Dyaks, whom Mr. Brooke was, in a manner, bound to protect. This sanction was, indeed, withdrawn on Mr. Brooke's urgent representations, but the fact of its having been given was sufficient proof of Muda Hassim's insincerity, or of his inability to withstand the sinister influences of Mr. Brooke's enemies, and a robbery and attempted murder by some of Makota's followers, furnished a plausible excuse for interference. We say, a plausible excuse, for it is impossible to read Mr. Brooke's letters without seeing that his own interests were uppermost in his mind, and that, apart from any such altruistic considerations, he was determined to insist on the fulfilment of the bargain.

Writing to Mr. Templar, on the 24th July, 1841, he says:—

“You know, I think, how greatly I have served the Rajah Muda Hassim, and the unqualified promise he made me, agreeing to give me the country, and to assist the government, which I thought best. On these promises I bought a second vessel, and put into her a cargo, in all costing me a great sum; and when I arrived here, with many friendly professions he took the cargo, and was to give me the antimony ore in exchange, at a favourable but fair rate. So far all went smooth; but arrived at this point, I first observed a slackness, then a slight shade of coolness, and then an evident wish to evade all discussion about the settlement of the country; and, last, a measure to try me, which went to the ruin of the country. It was nothing more or less than allowing 120 piratical Dyak boats, to go into the interior here, to attack the Dyaks of this country. When I resisted indignantly this gross breach of our agreement, he denied all knowledge of it; but his knowledge was no less certain, and the measure his own! You must know that antimony ore is easily and readily got; but though he has taken this cargo of mine, he has delayed giving me the return, and has now allowed the natives to work the stone. Now if this was a European, I should be sure he wanted to deceive me: and I believe this friend is false, and thinks to weary me out, and

thereby cheat me, and get me away in disgust ; but he is mistaken. I have taken my measures. One vessel partly full of ore, has returned to Singapore for provisions. The "Royalist" has been despatched to Borneo Proper to demand a shipwrecked crew ; and I remain here with Mr.—, and Peter, and another, to watch my friend and creditor. If I conclude that he wants to break his promise, and cheat me, too—and there can be no surer proof than that he could give me the full return in one month, and keeps me five, without allowing, nay, preventing his people working—if, as I say, I am sure of this, I will fleece him to his very bed-clothes ; and if he resists, fight it out."

That Mr. Brooke had come, on general grounds to the conclusion that the fulfilment of Muda Hassim's promise was essential to the good government of the country, and that this conclusion was, in fact, a correct one, may be conceded. But to allow that such a line of argument is sufficient to justify private war against an independent State, would be to claim general license for buccaneering enterprise wherever there might be wrong to redress.

On the occurrence of the outrage to which we have just referred, "Mr. Brooke determined that a settlement should be made one way or the other ; and therefore he armed his vessels, landed his crew, and marched to the palace, where he explained to the Malay prince the treachery and crimes of Makota."

The result, in the words of Mr. Brooke, was that—

"After this demonstration, affairs moved cheerily to a conclusion. The Rajah was active in settling ; the agreement was drawn out, sealed, and signed ; guns fired, flags waved ; and on the 24th September 1841, I became the governor of Saráwak with the fullest powers."

Up to the period of Mr. Brooke's assumption of the Government of Saráwak, his acts must be judged as those of a private individual. From that period, it is due to him that they should be judged as those of an independent ruler ; for, though many years elapsed before he was formally recognised in this capacity by the British Government, there can be no question that, from that time he was such a ruler *de facto* and, in estimating his conduct, full consideration must be allowed for the consequences of his actual position.

As may well be conceived, the settlement of the country proved a work of extreme difficulty. This difficulty arose from many causes, three of which may be enumerated as possessing special prominence. These were the depopulated state of the country and the feeling of mistrust which the character of the late administration had created among both Dyaks and Malays ; the depredations of the various piratical tribes who inhabited the

neighbouring coasts; and last not least, the presence in Saráwak of the Borneon Rajahs and their rascally following.

The removal of the first of these obstacles depended upon that of the other two, and, at the best, could be only gradually achieved. By firmness and the force of stern examples, Mr. Brooke speedily put down head hunting, and resistance within his own territory. The incursions of outside pirates, who at this time completely blockaded the coast, could be effectually prevented only by attacking them in their strongholds; and for this Mr. Brooke had not sufficient force. With a view of ridding himself of the Borneon Rajahs he determined to visit Brunei and see the Sultan himself. This course, then, he adopted and with complete success, obtaining not only the recall of Muda Hassim to the capital, but the release of a number of shipwrecked lascars who were detained there, and, what was no less important, the confirmation of his own appointment as Governor of Saráwak. The necessary aid for the suppression of piracy was also forthcoming, but from a different quarter. In February 1843, the internal affairs of Saráwak being comparatively settled, Mr. Brooke paid a visit to Singapore, and there struck up a friendship with Captain the Honourable Henry Keppel, who, on hearing the state of affairs on the coast of Borneo, readily agreed to co-operate for this purpose. Into the details of the operations which followed, it is unnecessary to enter. Suffice it to say, that they resulted in the suppression, first of the Seribas, and ultimately of the Sakerang, the most formidable of these miscreants.

On his return to Saráwak, Mr. Brooke, no longer hampered by the presence of Muda Hassim and his followers, found the Government of the country a much easier task than before. Trade began to prosper, and the Dyaks from the surrounding countries began to settle in large numbers in his territories.

In February, of the following year, Captain Bethune arrived in H. M.'s S. "Driver" with a despatch from Lord Aberdeen appointing Mr. Brooke, Her Majesty's confidential Agent in Borneo.

Captain Bethune was also commissioned to select a spot for a British settlement on the coast, the Sultan having, during Mr. Brooke's last visit to Brunei, offered to cede the Island of Labuan to the British Crown.

During the visits to Borneo which followed, Mr. Brooke obtained evidence of the existence of a formidable league against Muda Hassim, to which there could be little doubt that the Sultan himself was secretly a party, and which was supported by the pirates of Maludu. With a view of breaking up these combinations and striking a further blow at piracy, he appealed for assistance to Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, then at Singapore, who shortly after arrived on the coast with a powerful squadron,

As Pangeran Usup, Muda Hassim's chief enemy, happened to hold two British subjects in slavery, the Admiral called on the Brunei Sultan to punish him. The Sultan pretended to be willing, but pleaded that the Pangeran was too strong for him, and begged the Admiral to take his punishment into his own hands. Usup refusing to come in, his place was attacked, and he fled into the interior, where he was subsequently murdered. Muda Hassim's authority having been thus restored at the Capital, Maludu was afterwards attacked and destroyed.

The year 1846 was ushered in by the treacherous murder of Muda Hassim and his relatives at Brunei. A number of causes combined to make Muda Hassim, the best hated man in the place. To begin with, he was the friend of the English; and there can be little doubt that not only the Borneon chiefs generally, but the Sultan himself, in spite of his outward approval, looked with small favour on the high-handed proceedings of Mr. Brooke and his co-adjutors in the British Navy. Then, again, he had actively co-operated in the suppression of piracy, and, however beneficial the result may have been to the trading and agricultural classes, it was opposed to the interests of the chiefs, who were secretly in league with the pirates and shared their plunder. Last not least, the recognition of his title, as heir to the throne of Brunei, had made him an object of jealousy to both the Sultan himself and the other branches of the royal family.

Mr. St. John thus describes the tragedy:—

Numerous meetings were held in the palace, and it was sometime before the Sultan would give his consent to the massacre of these his nearest relatives; but after Muda Hassim had obtained from him the declaration that he was the legitimate heir to the Crown, he no longer hesitated, and preparations were made to surprise all the brothers. So secretly was this scheme conducted that no details of the plan reached them. They did, however, receive some warnings; but feeling confident after the destruction of Maludu and the deaths of Sirib Usman and Pangeran Usup, and thinking that they had adequate support in the friendship of Mr. Brooke and the aid of the English navy, they took no efficient precautions.

One night, when the brothers were scattered, the signal was given: bands of armed men left the palace, and pulling silently in the darkness, arrived unobserved near the houses of the different brothers. They attacked simultaneously. The young princes had but few followers with them. Bedrudin fought gallantly: he defended the entrance of his house for some time, but with three or four followers he could do little against a murderous band of forty or fifty. Finding that he, with his *kris*, held his own, and that they could not force an entrance into the house, one of the assailants fired. The shot took effect in Bedrudin's left wrist, and as that arm fell he received a severe wound in the right shoulder and several wounds in the body. His few followers were either killed or fled. He managed, however, to gain the inner apartments, where he found his sister, a favourite concubine, and Japar, a slave lad. The latter he commanded to reach down a barrel of powder, and spread the contents on a mat. He then called the women to sit near

him, and, turning to the lad, said: "You will take this signet-ring¹ to my friend, Mr. Brooke, tell him what has occurred, let him inform the Queen of England that I was faithful to my engagements, and add" he said, "that my last thoughts were of my true friend, Mr. Brooke." He then ordered the lad to save himself. Japar opened the lattice-like flooring, slipped down a post into the water, and swimming to a small canoe was enabled to paddle quietly away, while the murderers, suspicious, were cautiously making their entrance into the house. Japar had not proceeded many yards when a loud explosion told him that the gallant prince had set fire to the powder, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies.

Muda Hassim was attacked at the same time, and probably would have escaped had he pulled directly to the Burong Pingé Kampong, the inhabitants of which would have protected him. After a gallant defence he, too, wounded and overpowered by numbers, was forced to destroy himself. Of the fourteen brothers, but two or three escaped: one Muda Mahomed, whom I knew afterwards, was desperately wounded; another became insane; and this unfortunate family ceased to exist as a power. Although Mr. Brooke endeavoured to do something for the survivors, they have almost disappeared as a political element in Brunei.

On learning of the massacre, the Admiral promptly set sail for Borneo with a strong fleet; and after a smart resistance, Brunei was taken by the British. The Sultan fled into the interior, and a provisional Government was established. Subsequently he submitted to Mr. Brooke, renewing all his engagements and granting Mr. Brooke the exclusive right of working coal.

In the meanwhile, the British Government determined to take possession of Labuan, a cession of which was obtained without difficulty from the Sultan, and subsequently a regular commercial treaty was negotiated through Mr. Brooke.

Mr. Brooke's position now being thoroughly secure, he paid a visit to England, where he was duly lionised. Among other marks of distinction, he was presented with the freedom of the "City of Loudou" and invited to Windsor, where he had an interview with the Queen. Finally, before leaving, he was appointed Governor of the new Colony of Labuan and Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General in Borneo.

A further honour was in store for Mr. Brooke, in the shape of the Order of the Bath, in which he was installed at Singapore, on his way out, regretting that the news had not arrived a little later, so that the ceremony might have been performed "amid the wild beauties of the Borneon forest."

Sir James Brooke, with Mr. Grant, a midshipman of the *Meander*, who had left the service to become his private secretary, and Mr. Spencer St. John, arrived in Sarawak early in September 1848, and was received with the warmest enthusiasm. After a brief sojourn spent in visiting the wives of the principal Malay

¹ One which Mr. Brooke had given him.

chiefs, and during which Captain Brooke, Sir James' nephew and aide-camp arrived, he sailed for Labuan and was sworn in as Governor; proceeding thence to Brunei, to ratify the treaty with the Sultan. Returning to Labuan, almost the whole of the party, including Sir James himself, were struck down with fever, and this circumstance led to a cruise in the Sulu Archipelago. After re-visiting Labuan and remaining there a fortnight, Sir James, being anxious to commence operations to complete the suppression of the Seribas and Sakarang pirates, who had reared their heads again during his absence, returned to Saráwak. The interval of preparations for the expedition was occupied in fresh trips to Labuan and to Sulu, where a treaty was negotiated.

At length Her Majesty's brig *Albatross*, Captain Farquhar commanding, the *Royalist* and the *Nemesis*, had all assembled at Saráwak, and on the 24th July commenced a series of operations which, culminating in the decisive battle of Batang Marau, dealt the death blow to maritime piracy on the Borneon coast. This beneficial result, however, did not prevent the proceedings of Sir James Brooke and Captain Farquhar from being made the subject of a savage attack by Mr. Gladstone, on the ground that the charge of piracy was a mere pretext on the part of Sir James for massacreing enemies who threatened his power in Saráwak. The baselessness of this charge was clearly proved, and the Admiralty adjudged the Sakarangs to be pirates; but the ball of calumny and intrigue, once set rolling, was not to stop till a Royal Commission had been granted to enquire into the Rajah's conduct.

Constant attacks were made on him both in the Press and in Parliament, where Joseph Hume was his foremost assailant. In July 1851, a motion of enquiry was, after a triumphant reply by Lord Palmerston, rejected by a large majority. Sir James Brooke's enemies, however, did not rest, and after the accession of the Coalition Ministry to power in 1853, a Commission was granted.

In a letter from Lord Clarendon to Sir Charles Wood, the questions to be investigated were stated as follows:—

"The first question to which the Commissioners will have to direct their inquiries is, whether the position of Sir James Brooke at Saráwak, either as holding that possession of the Sultan of Borneo; or, as he now alleges, as an independent rajah, holding it by the free choice of the people, be compatible with his duties as British Consul-General and Commissioner for trade, and with his character of a British subject.

With reference to this portion of the inquiry, it is to be observed, that by no act of Her Majesty's Government has countenance ever been given to Sir James Brooke's assumption of independence, and

that his possession of Saráwak has never been considered otherwise by them than as a private grant bestowed by a foreign sovereign upon a British subject.

In the next place, the Commissioners will have to inquire whether the interests of Sir James Brooke, as a holder of territory, and as a trader in the produce of that territory, are compatible with his duties as Consul and Commissioner for Trade, to promote and foster the general trade of other British subjects.

Thirdly, it will be the duty of the Commissioners to inquire into the accusations brought against Sir James Brooke by British subjects, whether in their private capacity, or, as in the instance of the Eastern Archipelago Company, in a corporate capacity, of having sought to injure their interests, with a view to the promotion of his own.

Lastly, the Commissioners will have to inquire into the relations of Sir James Brooke with, and towards, the native tribes on the north-west coast of Borneo, with a view to ascertain whether it is necessary that he should be intrusted with a discretion to determine which of those tribes are piratical, or, taking into view the recent operations on the coast, of calling for the aid of Her Majesty's naval forces for the punishment of such tribes."

That these questions were, taken by themselves and considered on their merits, perfectly fair subjects of enquiry, admits, we think, of no dispute; and the position of Sir James Brooke was at once so anomalous, and so calculated to excite jealousy, that it was probably almost inevitable that enquiry should sooner or later be called for. Yet it will strike most unbiassed persons that a grave injustice was inflicted on Sir James Brooke,—as regards the first two questions, because his appointments as British Consul-General and Commissioner had been made by the Government with a full knowledge of his position as Rajah of Saráwak, and, as regards the other question, on account of the indefinite character of the charges cited.

The statement that no countenance had been given to Sir James Brooke's assumption of independence was flagrantly untrue. In the words of Mr. Templer, replying to Lord Clarendon,

"On the first August 1841, the Sultan granted the country and Government of Saráwak to Sir James, then Mr. Brooke, thereby confirming a prior cession by the Rajah Muda Hassim. On the 14th September 1843, a translation of this grant was forwarded to Sir Robert Peel by Mr. Brooke's agent.

On the 14th September 1844, Lieutenant-Colonel Butterworth, Governor of Singapore, wrote to the Governor-General of India, for instructions how to act with reference to Sir J. Brooke's

position in Saráwak, and refers to a fact noticed in the log of the *Phlegethon*, dated the 2nd day of September, regarding the appointment of the Governor of Linga, by the Rajah Budrudin and Mr. Brooke, as corroborating the supposition that the English were supporting the latter.

On the 7th January 1845, this letter was forwarded by the India Board to Viscount Canning.

In the year 1846, Captain Keppel's narrative containing Mr. Brooke's journals, was published, which stated that on the 24th September 1841, Mr. Brooke was declared Rajah and Governor of Saráwak ; that on the 5th November, in the same year, a court of justice was opened by him ; that on the 10th January 1842, he promulgated a simple code of laws for the people of Saráwak ; and from the period of this publication, Sir J. Brooke has been commonly called in this country by the name of the English Rajah, or Rajah Brooke.

In November 1844, Mr. Brooke was appointed agent for the British Government in Borneo.

In the year 1847, he received the appointment of Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General to the Sultan and independent chiefs of Borneo.

In October 1847, Mr. Brooke returned to England, was in constant communication with the departments of Government and left England in February 1848, having received the further appointment of Governor of the Island of Labuan. He was thus administering the government of Saráwak within the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government at the time he was appointed to this governorship.

Early in the year 1848, Captain Mundy's Narrative was published, which details the punishment of the Sultan for the murder of his relatives.

On the 14th March 1849, Sir J. Brooke communicated to Lord Palmerston that 'he had hoisted a Saráwak flag as a distinguishing mark of country,' and requests the sanction of Government to its use, on the ground that it would afford a recognised permanency to the country. On the 20th June 1849, Lord Palmerston replied that 'Her Majesty's Government approved of Sir James Brooke's proceedings on that occasion.' It is therefore very clear that Sir J. Brooke has always represented himself as Governor of Saráwak, first as tributary to, afterwards as independent of, the Sultan ; and never in any manner as the holder of territory in the nature of a private grant, or as entitled to any property in Borneo, except in the right of the State of Saráwak. With respect to Saráwak, he has always acted as a ruler, independent of Her Majesty's Government. When, therefore, Her Majesty's Govern-

ment, knowing this, and I may say in consequence of this, selected Sir J. Brooke as the person best fitted to extend British interests in those seas, conferred the above appointments, continued him in them, and at length approved of the use of a Saráwak flag as a distinguishing mark of country, I must, as I before stated, as a friend of Sir J. Brooke, who is cognizant of these facts, protest against the unqualified assertion which forms the basis of the first query. *viz.* :—

‘That by no act of Her Majesty’s Government has countenance ever been given to Sir J. Brooke’s assumption, of independence, and that his possession of Saráwak has never been considered otherwise by them, than as a private grant bestowed by a foreign sovereign on a British subject.’

As in most such cases, private enmity was at the bottom of the agitation against Sir James. Of the motives at work, Mr. Spencer St. John gives the following account :—

“The Eastern Archipelago Company had been formed to develop the resources of the Indian islands, and particularly to work the coal of Labuan and the antimony at Saráwak. It had been pushed into existence by Mr. Wise, Sir James Brooke’s agent in England, nominally to aid in advancing the work of the Rajah, but in fact to supplant him. His secret project was unknown to the directors when the company was formed, as it was difficult to fathom Mr. Wise’s schemes.

“But the fact was, that by inadvertence and unpardonable carelessness, some private letters written by Sir James from Saráwak had been allowed to fall into the hands of Mr. Wise, and in these he had noticed some energetic expressions about himself, when Sir James, irritated by what he considered dishonest attempts to impose on the public, declared that he would kick Mr. Wise to Old Nick if he continued to mix his name up in such schemes, and expressed the opinion that “a fiend was worth a dozen agents.” Mr. Wise, however, was cautious as to showing his discontent, and only whispered his insinuations to my father ; but when Mr. Brooke positively declined to have anything to do with his projected company, and refused to sacrifice Saráwak to the other’s greed for money, Mr. Wise grew furious, and then it was that he burst out to my father in accusations against his employer.

“Mr. Wise was an able man, and as crafty as he was able. As a minute examination of his different projects would be of no interest to the public, it will be sufficient to say that he had for a long time attempted to launch in the market a gigantic scheme, and he took advantage of the excitement caused by the arrival of Sir James in England during 1847 to carry out his project. He

thought himself secure of a lease of the Sarawak antimony ore ; but he had not yet obtained the grant of the right of working coal on the mainland of Borneo, as Sir James had thought it his duty, as a Queen's officer, to pass the concession he had obtained to the English Government.

" Mr. Wise looked upon this act as treason to himself, and was rendered furious on hearing that some genuine capitalists in the city were trying to obtain the concession. Upon this he thought of my father, and after a consultation, he drew up a long memorial, which the former agreed to place personally in the hands of Lord Palmerston.

" My father was an old acquaintance of Lord Palmerston, and I well remember the particulars of the interview. When he had explained to his lordship the object of his wishing to see him, he handed him the memorial to read. On seeing its length, Lord Palmerston started, and said, ' St Johu, your friend's a d——d long-winded fellow ! ' but with that admirable aptitude for work for which he was remarkable, his lordship read it through, and promised to do his best. What were the steps subsequently taken I do not know, but Mr. Wise was given the concession, and immediately formed his company. Many of the directors were rich, but nearly all were inexperienced men, and Mr. Wise was allowed to do as he pleased.

" Some months later Sir James Brooke thought that he discovered errors in Mr. Wise's accounts to a considerable amount : an explanation was demanded, but refused ; and Mr. Wise, finding that Sir James had for a long time been aware of his covert hostility, now threw off the mask, and attacked his old employer on every occasion.

" Our proceedings against the pirates in 1849 furnished him with the necessary weapons. By garbled extracts, by untrue reports, by means which I know not, he managed to obtain the confidence of obstinate old Joseph Hume, who dearly loved a grievance, and attacks on Sir James were commenced both in Parliament and the press. To minds that were prepossessed, it was of no use furnishing proofs of the character of the pirates, or to bring forward the judgment of the Admiralty Court. It was of no use for the House of Commons to approve Sir James Brooke's proceedings by increasing majorities ; it was of no use for Lords Palmerston, Grey, and Ellesmere to stand forward in his defence, nor for that hard hitter, Henry Drummond, to demolish Mr. Hume's case in the House. Mr. Wise and his faction were determined, if possible, to ruin Sir James Brooke. Stung by this injustice, the Rajah decided to carry the war into the enemy's camp, and attacked the Eastern Archipelago Company,

and did not give up the contest until he had seen the seal of their charter torn off by the judgment of a high tribunal. But at what expense of time, money, temper, and health was this triumph obtained !”

Sir James’ enemies even went so far as to accuse him of having bribed the pirates to murder Mr. Burns, Captain Robertson, and others of the crew of the *Dolphin*, and of having, by similar means, procured the death of Mr. Williamson, one of his assistants, who was accidentally drowned while being ferried across a river in a canoe.

The report of the Commission was generally favourable, and the Government were constrained to approve of Sir James Brooke’s conduct. At the same time they accepted his resignation of his State appointments, which he had tendered on being acquainted with the instructions to the Commission.

It would be impossible, within the compass of a review article, to enter into the details of Sir James Brooke’s administration of Sarawak, from his return in 1853, to his departure for England in 1861. We shall therefore confine ourselves to salient points and to results.

One of the most important events in the progress of civilisation in Borneo, was the cession of the six districts, obtained by him from the Sultan after his return in 1853. The coast between Sarawak and Brunei was nominally subject to the Sultan ; but he possessed little real authority, and his name was used by his nobles as a cloak for robbery. “The next district to Sarawak was Samarahan, which in everything followed the lead of its neighbour ; then Sadong, governed by an ill-conditioned Malay chief, named Bander Kasim, who was always in trouble ; then the great river of Batang Lupar, with its several branches of Lingga, Undop, and Sakarang, entirely independent of the Sultan, as was the next great district, the Seribas. Kaluka kept up an occasional intercourse with the capital, but paid no revenue ; and the majestic river of Rejang was peopled by tribes who owned no allegiance to any one.”

The question of cession had been first mooted in 1850, before Sir James Brooke’s second visit to England, and favourably received by the Sultan. The districts did not pay their expenses ; and Sir James Brooke now “proposed to the Brunei Government a certain fixed sum, and half the surplus revenue. The fixed sum was small ; but the revenues of Sarawak at that time were very small also. Few difficulties were raised : the Sultan, happy in the assurance of Sir James Brooke’s support, and desirous to get something where his predecessor had obtained nothing, agreed to cede the districts on the conditions proposed ; and before we left, the necessary deeds were prepared and signed. A year’s revenue was

paid in advance, large presents were made to different nobles, and all ended happily."

The Chinese insurrection in 1857 is noticeable more on account of the atrocities committed by the insurgents, and of the proof furnished on the occasion of the popularity of Sir James Brooke's government among the people of the country, than on account of any permanent influence exercised by it on the progress of Sarawak. As far back as 1850, large numbers of Chinese, chiefly from the neighbouring territory of Sambas, had begun to settle in Sarawak. The result, from a fiscal point of view, had been most beneficial; but in many respects the Chinese proved troublesome subjects. They were inveterate smugglers, and the firmness which the Rajah had shown in putting down their malpractices, combined with the damage done to his prestige by the Royal Commission and the subsequent coolness of the British Government, had engendered a spirit of resistance to his authority.

In 1856 the Rajah went away on a visit to Singapore, and during his absence, the members of the Kungsi, or Chinese Gold Company established in Sarawak, became so violent that Mr. Crookshank, who was in charge of the Government, thought it advisable to man the stockades, and to send for a force under Mr. Johnson from Sakarang. On the return of the Rajah, he punished the ringleaders, and, being satisfied with their show of submission, dismissed the guard.

This excess of confidence was productive of tragic results. On the 18th February 1857, the Kungsi, seeing that the Rajah was completely off his guard, assembled 600 of their workmen at Bau, and, arming them, marched them down to Tundong, whence they embarked in cargo boats for Kuching. Warning was given, but discredited; the Chinese squadron pulled through the town in the dead of the night, and landed the insurgents unperceived. Government House was at once attacked; and Sir James Brooke, who had only one European servant with him, narrowly escaped with his life, by diving under the bows of one of the insurgents' barges and swimming to the opposite bank of the river. Mr. Nicholletts, a young officer of the Government, hearing the uproar, rushed out of his house and was killed, and his head was severed from his body and borne about on a pike as that of the Rajah.

The other attacks took place simultaneously. Mr. and Mrs. Crookshank, rushing forth on hearing this midnight alarm, were cut down—the latter left for dead, the former seriously wounded. The constable's house was attacked, but he and his wife escaped, while their two children and an English lodger were killed by the insurgents.

Here occurred a scene which shows how barbarous were these Chinese. When the rebels burst into Mr. Middleton's house, he fled, and his wife

following found herself in the bath-room, and by the shouts was soon convinced that her retreat was cut off. In the meantime the Chinese had seized her two children, and brought the eldest down into the bath-room to show the way his father had escaped. Mrs. Middleton's only refuge was in a large water-jar; there she heard the poor little boy questioned, pleading for his life, and heard his shriek when the fatal sword was raised which severed his head from his body. The fiends kicked the little head with loud laughter from one to another. They then set fire to the house, and she distinctly heard her second child shrieking as they tossed him into the flames. Mrs. Middleton remained in the jar till the falling embers forced her to leave. She then got into a neighbouring pond and thus escaped the eyes of the Chinese, who were frantically rushing about the burning house. Her escape was most extraordinary.

The stockades, however, were not surprised. The Chinese, waiting for the signal of attack on the houses, were at length perceived by the sentinel, and he immediately roused the treasurer, Mr. Crymble, who resided in the stockade, which contained the arsenal and the prison. He endeavoured to make some preparation for defence although he had but four Malays with him. He had scarcely time, however, to load a six-pounder field-piece, and get his own rifle ready, before the Chinese with loud shouts rushed to the assault. They were led by a man bearing in either hand a flaming torch. Mr. Crymble waited until they were within forty yards; he then fired and killed the man who, by the lights he bore, made himself conspicuous, and before the crowd recovered from the confusion in which they were thrown by the fall of their leader, discharged among them the six-pounder loaded with grape, which made the assailants retire behind the neighbouring houses or hide in the outer ditches. But with four men little could be done; and some of the rebels having quietly crossed the inner ditch, commenced removing the planks which constituted the only defence. To add to the difficulty, they threw over into the inner court little iron tripods, with flaming torches attached, which rendered it as light as day, while they remained shrouded in darkness.

To increase the number of defenders, Mr. Crymble released two Malay prisoners, one a madman who had killed his wife, the other a debtor. The latter quickly disappeared, while the former, regardless of the shot flying around, stood to the post assigned him, opposite a plank which the Chinese were trying to remove. He had orders to fire his carbine at the first person who appeared; and when, the plank giving way, a man attempted to force his body through, he pulled the trigger without lowering the muzzle of his carbine, and sent the ball through his own brains. Mr. Crymble now found it useless to prolong the struggle, as one of his four men was killed, and another, a brave Malay corporal, was shot down at his side. The wounded man begged Mr. Crymble to fly and leave him there, but asked him to shake hands with him first, and tell him whether he had not done his duty. The brave Irishman seized him by the arm and attempted to drag him up the stairs leading to the dwelling over the gate; but the Chinese had already gained the courtyard, and pursuing them, drove their spears through the wounded man, and Mr. Crymble was forced to let go his hold, and with a brave follower, Daud, swung himself down into the ditch below. Some of the rebels seeing their attempted escape, tried to stop Mr. Crymble, and a man stabbed at him, but only glanced his thick frieze-coat, and received in return a cut across the face from the Irishman's cutlass, which was a remembrance to carry to the grave.

The other stockade, though it had but a corporal's watch of three Malays, did not surrender, but finding that every other place was in the hands of the

Chinese, the brave defenders opened the gates, and charging the crowd of rebels sword in hand, made their escape, though they were all severely wounded in the attempt.

The confusion which reigned throughout the rest of the town may be imagined, as, startled by the shouts and yells of the Chinese, the inhabitants rushed to the doors and windows, and beheld night turned into day by the bright flames which rose in three directions, where the Rajah's, Mr. Crookshank's, and Mr. Middleton's houses were all burning at the same time.

After remaining in the place a day, and compelling the surviving Europeans and the Malay chiefs to take oaths of fidelity to the Kungsi, the insurgents retired with their booty. An assembly was immediately held by the Malays, who unanimously determined to remain faithful to the Rajah; and one chief manned a boat, and, starting in pursuit, succeeded in capturing one of the Chinese barges and killing five of its defenders. This premature action brought back the Chinese with re-inforcements. The Malays made a brave resistance, but their measures of defence having been but imperfectly organised, they must, in spite of the efforts of Sir James Brooke, who had returned during the attack, have succumbed but for the timely arrival of one of the Borneo Company's steamers. The Chinese fired one aimless volley without doing any harm, and when the guns of the steamer opened on them, fled in confusion. The Malay population, aided by the Dyaks, now rose *en masse* on the fugitives, and so harassed their retreat that but few escaped; those who did, being disarmed and stripped of their plunder by the Dutch into whose territory they had fled.

After the suppression of the insurrection, Sir James Brooke made his third visit to England, where he arrived in 1858. Owing partly to ill health, partly, it would seem, to a sense of his extreme weakness at Sarawak in the absence of extraneous support, and with inadequate fiscal resources, and partly also to the complete dissipation of his own private fortune, he appears at this time to have become thoroughly weary of his enterprise, and, finding the Ministry more favourably disposed towards him, he entered into negotiations with a view to the disposal of Sarawak to the British Government. A protectorate was offered; but this did not meet his views, and was refused. By and by a change of Ministry came, and the accession of Lord Derby to power was followed by a complete estrangement between Sir James and the Government.

To add to Sir James Brooke's despondency, affairs in Sarawak fell into an unsatisfactory condition. The relations between Captain Brooke, who was administering the Government, and the Sultan of Brunei became strained, partly owing to his high-handed

treatment of the Sultan's subjects, and partly, it seems probable, to injudicious interference on the part of Mr. St. John, the Consul-General. Captain Brooke, having lost his wife, returned to England, leaving the Government in the hands of his brother, Mr. Charles Johnson. Certain discontented chiefs, smarting under punishment justly inflicted on them by Sir James Brooke, seized the opportunity to conspire against the Government, and Messrs. Steel and Fox, two officers in the Kyang district, were assassinated, there can be little doubt, at their instigation. Mr. Johnson acted with energy, and not only severely punished the Kanawils who had given shelter to the murderers, but forcibly expelled one of the chiefs who had instigated the crime, and banished the other.

Sir James Brooke now opened negotiations for the transfer of Sarawak with Holland and France in succession, but without success. His pecuniary difficulties increased, and, being pressed by the Borneo Company for the return of £5,000, borrowed from them after the Chinese insurrection, he was enabled to repay it only through the liberality of a friend.

A state of distrust, amounting almost to panic, reigned at Sarawak, where both the prestige and the popularity of the Europeans had undergone an eclipse since the estrangement of the British Government had become generally known. Mr. St. John is inclined, probably with much reason, to find another cause of diminished sympathy between the two races, in the introduction of English ladies into Sarawak. It is not, of course, to be supposed that these ladies were either themselves personally unpopular, or exercised any directly maleficent influence on the relations between their husbands and European friends and the Malays; but their presence led, of necessity, to diminished social intercourse between the men of the two races. "In the earlier days," says Mr. St. John, "every evening after dinner the chiefs would assemble in the great hall, sit amongst us, and conversations were freely carried on as between equals. But when the ladies arrived, that was all changed; after dinner the ladies retired into the drawing-room, where the gentlemen soon followed, or remained impatiently waiting for the natives to go. This they soon observed, and gradually they left off coming. No wonder the bonds of sympathy between the native and European became slacker."

This moreover was, probably, not the only way in which the presence of English ladies led to a loosening of social ties between the European and the Malay. Something of the same kind has been witnessed in India, where, if the influx of our fair sisters has had for one of its consequences, a marked increase of

our own comforts and sources of enjoyment, it has undoubtedly had for another of its consequences, a widening of the distance between Europeans and natives, and perhaps a diminution of kindness in the feelings of Europeans towards natives, as well as in their knowledge of them.

When things seemed at their worst, the same friend who had enabled Sir James Brooke to repay the Borneo Company, provided him with the money to buy a steamer for Sarawak. The *Rainbow* was purchased, and the Raja recovered his spirits and determined to persevere in his enterprise.

In 1861 he returned to Sarawak, where his tact and energy soon restored confidence to the country. The Sultan was induced to make over to him the whole of the coast as far as Kidurong Point for an annual tribute of about £1,200, Captain Brooke was installed as heir-apparent, and, all troublesome questions having been satisfactorily settled, Sir James Brooke returned to England.

After his return negotiations were renewed with the Government, first for protection, and finally for the formal recognition of Sarawak. While they were in progress, differences with Captain Brooke, which ultimately resulted in his being disinherited, again took Sir James to Sarawak. A successful expedition was organised under Mr. Johnson against the powerful tribe of the Kayaus, who had been raiding on the Sarawak borders; and, this last source of danger having been overcome, Mr. Johnson, who had now adopted his uncle's name, was placed in charge of the Government.

Sir James left Sarawak for good in September 1863. In October of the same year, the British Government recognised the independence of Sarawak, and a Consul was appointed. A rapid improvement in the commerce and revenue of the country also set in, and Sir James Brooke, under the influence of these favourable events, also improved in health and spirits. He still continued, however, to agitate for protection, but without success; and towards the close of 1866, he offered to hand over the country to the British Government on the sole condition of its respecting the religion, laws, and customs of the people, and paying the State debts, amounting to nearly £75,000. The offer, however, was refused, and it became necessary to make fresh arrangements for the succession, which, after some hesitation, was settled on Charles Brooke.

On the 24th December 1866, Sir. James Brooke had a second attack of paralysis, and in the following June he was struck down by a third attack, never to rise again.

Mr. Spencer St. John's book closes with a valuable consular report of the condition of Sarawak in 1878, in which the area of

the territory is put down at about 28,000 square miles, and the number of the population at 222,000, of whom 20,000 reside in Kuching, the capital. The exports in 1877 were valued at £250,000 and the imports at nearly an equal sum. The revenue in 1876 was 183,182 dollars. The writer of the report bears the highest testimony both to the affection in which Sir. James Brooke's name is held, and to the even-handed justice, honesty, and popularity of the present Government.

The policy of the Sarawak Government appears to me to be just and and equitable toward the native Dyak and other races. It may fairly be assumed to be so, if we take as a test the fact, that extensive tribes of savages have been transmuted from lawless head-hunters and pirates, into comparatively peaceful agriculturists. The crime of head-hunting is now scarcely known in Sarawak. Indeed, I regret to state that it appears to be more common in the territories of his Highness the Sultan than elsewhere; and so bold did I find these gentry on my arrival in Labuan, that two cases were absolutely before me of head-taking within the British colony of Labuan itself, where a panic on that account had existed for some time. The same remarks apply to the crime of piracy, a pet offence with the old marauders, and a venial one in their eyes. What little piracy exists on the western coasts of Borneo is not to be found within the dominions or seaboard of Sarawak. It is rather to be looked for in the territories on the north-west coasts of Brunei, again partially within the nominal jurisdiction of the Sultan, and to a greater extent on the north-east coast.

There are doubtless to be found in the rule of Sarawak many defects, some of which might be at once amended—others, again, that time only can efface. In criticising severely any special legislation or custom at present obtaining within the country, it would be necessary that all the attendant circumstances should be thoroughly elucidated and considered, before arriving at a sweeping and condemnatory judgment upon matters which, to the eyes of the most civilised colonists in the world, appear anomalous or even wrong. Sarawak is yet not forty years old, and has time before her to amend and improve any defects of government. As long as the main objects constituting the welfare of the community be kept in view, and the people are generally contented and happy, the objections to which I have referred can practically have but small weight in the balance.

One of the principal recommendations attaching in the eyes of the native to European rule in Sarawak is, the honesty of its administration, especially in pecuniary matters. The object of the Malay nobles in olden times, and indeed now in the territories of Brunei, was to squeeze as much as might be from the wretched aborigines; the principal aim of the European appears to them to be, to solve the problem of how to carry on an effective Government at the lightest possible cost to its subjects. This difficulty has met with a creditable solution in Sarawak: a taxation of about £40,000 per annum, distributed amongst a population of 200,000 souls, and giving a statistical average of from 5s. to 6s. sterling per head, can scarcely be called oppressive. (In calculating this average, I strike out about 50,000 frontier natives, who probably escape paying taxes at all.) Another recommendation in the eyes of the native is the possibility of obtaining even-handed, if rough, justice. It is not necessary, as they see and admit with satisfaction, that litigants should enter into a pecuniary competition with their opponents to purchase the favour and countenance of their judges.

Education and progress will safely and surely eradicate many of the evils

remaining in the State, which may be viewed as legacies, fortunately diminishing, of a barbarous *régime* long since extinct. In the meantime, natives, Mohamedan as well as pagan, will be best managed and improved by showing a proper degree of respect for their usages and customs, especially by a complete tolerance of their forms of worship; and the only real blot in Sarāwak, that of slavery (although existing in a modified form), may be trusted to die out with the gradual extension of European rule, and the increased intelligence of the coming generation.

The occasions requiring the employment of armed force are becoming rare, and disturbances are strictly local.

The real power of Sarāwak is based upon remembrance of, and gratitude due to, the late Rajah, Sir James Brooke, as well as upon the firm administration and even-handed justice of the present Government. No one visiting Sarāwak can fail to observe the respect and affection in which the present Rajah and his family are held by the entire community. The fact is as noticeable among Europeans as among the natives; and I may observe that the moderately paid but fairly efficient European staff is socially on a par with the officials of the generality of our colonies. The mode of life amongst the European body is quiet and unostentatious; but of hospitality there is abundance, and no visitor leaves Sarāwak without pleasant reminiscences of his stay.

A further noteworthy feature is to be found in the results obtained with so little money. The civil list of the Rajah is, I know, modest in all respects; and it is not every Government that, on a yearly revenue of £40,000 sterling, would be enabled effectively to rule 25,000 square miles of territory, with a population of over 2,00,000 souls, to keep up a respectable standing military force, to garrison and maintain fourteen forts, to pay a competent staff of European officers and native authorities, to maintain three gunboats, to protect commerce and agriculture, and generally to guarantee safety to life and property within its limits.

ART. XI.—MR. HUNTER'S EDINBURGH LECTURES.

MR. Hunter, in his recent lectures, has given to the British public by far the ablest sketch ever laid before them (in a popular form) of the work done by the British in India during the period, of little more than fifty years, during which they have been the paramount power in Hindustan. This excellent resumé of facts and figures is by far the completest apology which has been generally accessible; and it places the lecturer in the enviable position of an interpreter to the people of England of matters for which, indeed, they have assumed the responsibility, but which they have had but little opportunity of examining in so agreeable a light.

There can be no question but that the Court of Directors who began the work of civilising India (*auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliæ* as their motto set forth) consisted principally of intelligent experts, interested in the welfare of the country. And the impulse given by them has, on the whole, been maintained since the introduction of direct Imperial Government. In fact, there is adequate reason for believing that the subsequent tendency has rather been to progress in the direction of occidentalisation, and of removal of checks which the former ruling body had, in their practical and cautious sagacity, endeavoured to impose.

Whether for evil or for good, Englishmen have since been largely encouraged to apply their skill and capital to the development of Indian resources. The garrison of British troops has been more than doubled; many railways have been built, many a ship added to the mercantile tonnage. Codes of an enlightened and even a highly philosophical character, have been introduced; and a system of University teaching and examination has been extended, and to a certain degree, acclimatised in the country. Vaccination has been partially popularised, attempts have been made to diffuse sanitation and to check the ravages of famine and of epidemic disease.

Objections are made, not perhaps always wisely, or even honestly, against the value of these good works. On the other hand, they have not been sufficiently noticed by their doers, nor supported by such a skilful array of facts as the present.

It is not necessary to fly to the extreme of pessimism. Mr. Hunter has availed himself of his unrivalled opportunities to show how civil war has been extinguished, organised crime mitigated, and preventible death diminished; how trade and knowledge have been fostered, how the reign of law has been substituted for

the power of privilege and the caprice of despotic administration. All this is correctly stated; and it may leave a handsome balance to the credit of British rule in India. Nevertheless, there is a heavy debit side to the account which must be first deducted. The complaints against British rule in India are not merely, or mainly, those enumerated by *The Times* in its eulogistic review of the first Hunterian lecture. It is true, that some of these grievances exist, and are widely and deeply felt. It is not right that the British Government, after professing to fix the land-tax in permanence, or, for a term of years, should enhance the demand, first under the thin disguise of a temporary "famine insurance," and then undisguisedly and in perpetuity. It is not right that, while professing to abandon an income-tax, it should expose men's incomes to the incidence of direct taxation under another title. It is least of all right that the pledges to employ natives in the higher branches of administration should have remained unfulfilled, for practical purposes, during a full score of years. These things were not done by the Mughals for more than a century; and it is noticeable that during that period no popular rising or other mark of disaffection was observed. Including Jahangir's interlude of misrule, the empire of the Chaghatais, from the fall of Bairam Khan in 1561 to the death of Jai Singh in 1667, was considered strong and popular, by European observers as much as by Oriental historians: and during that long period there was no direct taxation, nor any systematic exclusion of the natives from office, of whatever class and kind.

It may be questioned, further, whether the wholesale introduction of exotic principles of administration can benefit races that are wholly unprepared for them, so much as a vigilant and intelligent application of indigenous methods. A Hindu, transplanted in mature age to England, does not find the food, climate, or other conditions of English life suited to his constitution, and is apt to wither and perish like Ram Mohan Rai and Dwarka Nath Tagore. And why should we expect that the body politic should fare better under alien treatment than the body physiological of whose aggregates it is composed?

The extinction of civil war is a good thing in itself; but has it left the Rajputs more chivalrous, or the native aristocracy in general, more manly or more prosperous? All experience shows that it has not. The mitigation of organised crime of an open or violent nature may, for all we know to the contrary, have increased the spread of other forms of lawless egoism, of forgery, perjury, and secret poisoning. The increase of trade has impoverished the multitude who cannot, in such a state of society as they live in, benefit by the lowered value and purchasing power

of money consequent thereon. The diffusion of such knowledge as has been hitherto dispensed by British schools, colleges, and universities, has sapped religious traditions, and fostered political discontent, so as to seem to necessitate a censorship over the vernacular press. The reign of law has been productive of an increase in the burdens of the poor and an extensive transfer of landed property.

It is not, of course, a *sequitur* to say that any other set of foreigners would have done better. Perhaps, some might have done worse. But it only needs a reference to some of our own back numbers to see that while certain classes have benefited by British methods, the rural poor, who form the overwhelming bulk of the population, have added to their sufferings, as fast as they have added to their numbers. "Thou hast multiplied the nation, but not increased the joy." And this is always to be taken into consideration, as a warning rather than a discouragement, whenever we are inclined to give the Indian Government praise in the spirit of unquestioned optimism.

THE QUARTER.

OUR chronicle is again, perforce, and bids fair to be for some time to come, chiefly a military one. When we last wrote, preparations for the march of an avenging army upon Cabul had reached an advanced stage. The vanguard of General Roberts' Division had, indeed, been pushed forward as far as Zargunshahr on the 27th September, and it was expected that the entire force would reach the Afghan Capital by the 1st October. The Amir had arrived in General Baker's camp, ostensibly for the purpose of displaying at once his helplessness and his fidelity to the British cause, but really, there is good reason for thinking, in the hope of being able to delay the advance of the force by his representations, while securing his own personal safety, not from the violence of his own subjects, but from the consequences of resistance on the part of his soldiery to our arms.

The progress of the main body of General Roberts' army was delayed beyond all expectation, partly by want of transport, and partly by defective organisation of such as existed. The chaos into which the march from Ali Kheyl to the Logar resolved itself, has been compared with that which marked the disastrous retreat of the French from Moscow. Had the army been attacked in force by a disciplined enemy in this part of its route it must, in all probability, have been annihilated.

The last of the force left Ali Kheyl on the 29th September and the entire army, consisting of upwards of 6,500 men and officers of all arms, was massed at Zargunshahr on the 2nd October. Between the latter place and Charasiah, which was reached on the 5th, the force was compelled by the want of transport to march in instalments, the advance portion sending back its baggage animals to bring up the ammunition left in the rear under charge of General Macpherson.

Early on the morning of the 6th instant, the enemy were observed in great force occupying the ridges to the south of the city, and the defile, between them, leading to the Bala Hissar. A force was accordingly detached under General Baker, consisting of the 72nd Highlanders; a wing of the 93rd; three companies of the 5th Gurkhas; five companies Pioneers, one company Sappers; three guns G-3-R. A; two Gatlings; four mountain guns and some Cavalry, to clear the heights. At a-quarter-to-one the troops got into action, at 3 P. M. the enemy were in full flight, and by night-fall all the principal points were occupied. Our loss was between eighty and ninety, killed and wounded;

that of the enemy comparatively heavy. Eighteen guns were captured, thirteen in position, and the remainder abandoned on the road.

The following detailed account of the action is given by the Special Correspondent of the *Pioneer* :

"The following is the fuller description of General Baker's successful attack. The force under his personal direction got into the open, north of Charasiah, about noon. The heights to the left and front were seen to be crowded with men who were holding a strong position on the steep craggy points. The enemy's right front was made the initial point of attack. Two companies of 72nd Highlanders, supported later by two companies of the 5th Gurkhas under Captain Cook, skirmished upwards under a heavy fire. They crept up a knoll 500 or 600 feet high, the climbing being most difficult; while General Baker with the main body held a position on the lower hills. To support the skirmishers, General Baker opened fire with two mountain guns, and afterwards brought up two more and two Gatlings. The latter fired a few rounds, but, then, got out of order. The remaining companies of the 72nd Highlanders were pushed forward under Colonel Clarke to outflank the enemy's right. At 1-30 P. M. these were supported by two companies of the 5th P. I. All worked forward rapidly, and, passing through a little gap, joined the advanced line of skirmishers. The enemy had three banners on the ridge, and fought very bravely. There were from 1,500 to 2,000 of them armed with Sniders and Enfields, but they had no guns. They were plainly commanded by trained officers as their movements were very orderly. They directed their fire not only at the advanced party, but at the mountain guns, and at General Baker and staff. Dr. Duncan was wounded seriously while standing at the General's side, and two or three ambulance kahars were killed. The mountain battery escaped with the loss only of a mule. All this time, the advanced companies of the 72nd Highlanders and the Gurkhas were holding their ground within 200 yards of the enemies' lines, and waiting for our flanking movement to have its due effect. It was past two o'clock before the rush was made: and, when our men charged the enemy evacuated the ridge at once, leaving many killed and wounded, and two standards fell into our hands. A private of the 72nd Highlanders behaved splendidly, charging up the hill at the Sungar, followed by four or five Gurkhas and one of his comrades: he is to be recommended for the Victoria Cross. The mountain guns under Captain Swinley fired extremely well and did great execution. When this important position had been taken, the general advance was stopped, and the 23rd Pioneers and the rest of the Gurkhas, who had been held in reserve, were pushed forward under the command of Lieutenant Chesney and Major Fitzhugh, respectively. Many of the enemy now were on the run, but fought obstinately wherever the ground favoured them, and at one point charged the Gurkhas who came crowding on close at their heels. The Gurkhas met them with the bayonet and broke them at once. Point after point was taken by our troops who had to cross a series of low ridges, while the main high ridge was held by the enemy, still in force. They also held a good position flanking our left, which was shelled, and the Pioneers and Gurkhas were then sent up. The enemy retreated pell-mell, flying across an open maidan towards the Chardeh villages, which could be seen lying in front, a mass of vegetation and foliage. Indikee was the nearest village, and if the General had had cavalry with him the enemy would have been cut up by scores. As it was, fire was kept up by the guns and Martinis, as long as the men were within range, and the Gatlings were again used, this time with good effect. General Baker here halted

for half an hour's breathing time, and signalled his success to Sir F. Roberts. The 72nd Highlanders, who had borne the brunt of the fighting, had 36 men put out of action. Two companies of the Pioneers had gained the main ridge meanwhile, the enemy still retreating, and now an advance was made to the right front towards the defile. General Baker now swung round his left flank, and facing eastward, swept the ridge clear; firing at long ranges going on, but no further casualties occurring. The work was most difficult, as the ground was very bad, and it was not until dark that the last peak overlooking the defile was occupied. Here a junction was effected with the 92nd Highlanders, who with G-3rd Battery Royal Artillery had not been idle. The 23rd Pioneers and the 5th P. I. moved down into the plain beyond the pass, while the 72nd Highlanders, the Gurkhas and mountain guns remained above, throwing out strong picquets over the range of hills. While this fight was going on 3 guns of G-3rd Battery Royal Artillery on the extreme right had come into action, shelling the heights overlooking the defile and occasionally dropping a shell into the defile itself. The enemy were here also 2,000 strong and had 13 guns in position, although they did not make much use of them. Our guns made beautiful practice, and the Highlanders, after shelling had lasted some time, took three hills in succession, all strongly defended by Sungars. No better form could have been shewn by any soldiers than that in which the Highlanders went up the hills—the enemy awaiting until they were almost within bayonet reach, and then turning tail. Their final retreat was in great disorder, and their total loss must have been several hundred.

The following morning General Roberts, with the main body of the force, advanced from Charasiah through the Sang-i-Nawishta defile, and fixed his headquarters at Beni Shahr. Here, on the morning of the 8th, he learned that the camp of Sherpur had been evacuated, but that the enemy occupied a fortified ridge to the north of the city. General Massey, with the 9th Lancers, 5th Punjab Cavalry and 12th Bengal Lancers, was accordingly sent round by Sherpur, to cut off their retreat by the Bamian road, while a force of infantry under General Baker was pushed forward along the Beni Shahr ridge till it faced that occupied by the enemy.

General Massey found the Sherpur cantonment deserted, with a large number of guns, which were captured, and thence he worked round into the Chardeh plain, keeping the enemy's position to his left rear.

"Our cavalry formed up in the fields to await the infantry attack; the 5th Punjab Cavalry going off to the right to block the main Bamian road. The enemy on the ridge contented themselves with throwing occasional shells at our videttes, and the villagers fired at a party which tried to open communication with the latter. In the meantime General Baker, with 320 of the 92nd Highlanders, 2 companies 72nd, 7 companies 23rd Pioneers, 2 mountain guns, and one Gatling, had left Beni-Hissar at noon, and by a-quarter-to-four had, after a fearful climb, got into position on the top of Bala Hissar ridge. He shelled the enemy who answered shot for shot, but nothing more occurred; except that the

Gatlings were tried at a tower at the base of the ridge and the 72nd picking off the gunners of field-pieces on the enemy's camp. The 72nd had worked down hill to a tower on a ridge overlooking the Cabul river, and were waiting for reinforcements to storm the heights."

Unfortunately General Baker, perhaps overrating the enemy's strength, hesitated to attack them; darkness came on while he was waiting for reinforcements; and, during the night, the enemy made off, abandoning their camp, guns and many of their animals, and a large quantity of ammunition. General Massey's cavalry failed to intercept them, probably owing to the fact that they dispersed from their camp and concealed themselves in the city and surrounding villages. The next day he pursued along the Bamian road, but only overtook a small body about twenty in number, who were cut up.

On the 11th October, General Roberts visited and inspected the Bala Hissar, and on the following day he took formal possession of the citadel, which was occupied by the 67th Foot and 8th Gurkhas. After the British standard had been hoisted over the gateway, the General and his suite passed on to the Amir's garden, where, in a Kiosk, overlooking the city, a durbar was held and the following proclamation read to the assembled Afghan chiefs.

"Proclamation to the People of Cabul by Major-General Sir Frederick Roberts, &c., &c., dated Bala Hissar, Cabul, 12th October, 1879.—In my Proclamation of the 3rd October, dated Zargunshahr, I informed the people of Cabul that a British army was advancing to take possession of the City, and I warned them against offering any resistance to the entry of the troops, and the authority of His Highness the Amir. That warning has been disregarded. The force under my command has now reached Cabul, and occupied the Bala Hissar; but its advance has been pertinaciously opposed, and the inhabitants of the city have taken a conspicuous part in the opposition offered. They have therefore become rebels against His Highness the Amir, and have added to the guilt already incurred by them in abetting the murder of the British Envoy and of his companions,—a treacherous and cowardly crime which has brought indelible disgrace upon the Afghan people. It would be but a just and fitting reward for such misdeeds if the city of Cabul were now totally destroyed, and its very name blotted out. But the great British Government is ever desirous to temper justice with mercy, and I now announce to the inhabitants of Cabul that the full retribution for their offence will not be exacted, and that the city will be spared. Nevertheless, it is necessary that they should not escape all penalty, and that the punishment inflicted should be such as will be felt and remembered. Therefore such of the city buildings as now interfere with the proper military occupation of the Bala Hissar, and the safety and comfort of the British troops to be quartered in it, will be at once levelled with the ground; and further a heavy fine, the amount of which will be notified hereafter, will be imposed upon the inhabitants, to be paid according to their several capabilities. This punishment, inflicted upon the whole city, will not of course absolve from further penalties those whose individual guilt

may be hereafter proved. A full and searching enquiry will be held into the circumstances of the late outbreak, and all persons convicted of bearing a part in it will be dealt with according to their deserts. I further give notice to all, that, in order to provide for the restoration and maintenance of order, the city of Cabul and the surrounding country to a distance of ten miles are placed under martial law. With the consent of the Amir, a military Governor of Cabul will be appointed to administer justice, and to punish with a strong hand all evil-doers. The inhabitants of Cabul and of the neighbouring villages are hereby warned to submit to his authority. For the future the carrying of dangerous weapons, whether swords, knives, or fire-arms, within the streets of Cabul or within a distance of five miles from the city gates, is forbidden. After a week from the date of this Proclamation, any person found armed within these limits will be liable to the penalty of death. Persons having in their possession any articles whatsoever which formerly belonged to members of the British Embassy are required to bring them forthwith to the British Camp. Anyone neglecting this warning will, if found hereafter in possession of any such articles, be subject to the severest penalties. Further, all persons who may have in their possession any fire-arms or ammunition formerly issued to, or seized by, the Afghan troops, are required to produce them. For every country-made rifle, whether breech or muzzle-loading, a sum of Rs. 3 will be given on delivery; and for every rifle of European manufacture, Rs. 5. Anyone found hereafter in possession of such weapons will be severely punished. Finally, I notify that I will give a reward of Rs. 50 for the surrender of any person, whether soldier or civilian, concerned in the attack on the British Embassy, or for such information as may lead directly to his capture. A similar sum will be given in case of any person who may have fought against the British troops, since the 3rd September last, and has therefore become a rebel against the Amir. If any such person, so surrendered or captured, be a captain or subaltern officer of the Afghan army, the reward will be increased to Rs. 75; and if a field officer to Rs. 120."

The Amir was invited to be present at the ceremony, but probably from a disinclination to being identified in any way with the proceedings of the day in the eyes of his subjects, absented himself on the plea of indisposition, sending the heir-apparent in his stead. After the Proclamation had been read, the Mustafi Wazir; Yahiya Khan, the Amir's father-in-law, and Zakhariah Khan, his brother, were arrested, with a view to an enquiry into their conduct in connexion with the massacre of the Embassy, and the subsequent opposition to the British advance. At the same time the Amir himself was placed under a strong guard.

Rumours that the Bala Hissar was mined had preceded its occupation, and though this does not appear to have been the case, the citadel was shortly afterwards the scene of a tremendous catastrophe. On the 16th October, a little before 1 o'clock, while Captain Shafto, with a number of khalassis, was engaged in the work of removing ammunition from the godowns which formed part of the arsenal, a terrific explosion took place, resulting in the death of Captain Shafto himself and the men at work with him; twelve men of the 5th Gurkhas who were posted close

ly; one man of the 67th, and 2 Sawars of the 5th Punjab Cavalry. The 5th Gurkhas who were encamped near the arsenal, and the 67th Foot, who were in the Amir's garden, were promptly marched out of the Bala Hissar, and it was fortunate that this was done, for at about a-quarter-to-four in the afternoon came a second explosion, more violent than the first, sending rocks, beams and bullets into the city itself, where several persons were killed and wounded. As the fire continued to spread, it was for a long time feared that the principal store of powder, believed to contain over 200,000 pounds, would become ignited. By strenuous exertions, however, this calamity was prevented.

Regarding the cause of the explosion, nothing conclusive has been ascertained. The fact of the body of an Afghan having been found buried among the *debris* might seem to lend support to the theory that it was the work of an incendiary. On the other hand, the careless manner in which the explosives were stored, quantities of powder being strewed about the floors of the godowns, mixed up with percussion caps and friction tubes, rendered an accident of the kind almost inevitable.

On the 19th October, it was reported from Simla, that the Amir had announced to General Roberts his determination to abdicate, and that, though requested to reconsider his decision, he had subsequently declared his intention to be unchanged. On the 28th of the same month, it was accordingly announced at Cabul that the British Government had accepted his abdication, and the same day the following proclamation was issued, empowering General Roberts to assume the Government of the country :

I, General Roberts, on behalf of the British Government, hereby proclaim that the Amir, having, by his own free-will, abdicated, has left Afghanistan without a Government.

In consequence of the shameful outrage upon its Envoy and his suite, the British Government has been compelled to occupy by force of arms, Cabul, the capital, and to take military possession of other parts of Afghanistan.

The British Government now commands that all Afghan authorities, chiefs, and sirdars do continue their functions, in maintaining order; referring to me, whenever necessary. The British Government desires that the people shall be treated with justice and benevolence, and that their religious feelings and customs be respected.

The services of such sirdars and chiefs as assist in preserving order, will be duly recognised, but all disturbers of the peace and persons concerned in attacks upon the British authority will meet with condign punishment.

The British Government, after consultation with the principal sirdars, tribal chiefs, and others, representing the interests and wishes of the various provinces and cities, will declare its will as to the future permanent arrangements to be made for the good government of the people.

The same day it was discovered that Yakub, who had previously professed the utmost alacrity to go to England, or wher-

ever General Roberts might send him, contemplated flight, and the stringency of his arrest was in consequence re-doubled. On the 31st October the headquarters and main body of the occupying force moved into the Sherpur cantonment.

For the first three weeks after the advance of General Roberts' force on Cabul, there had been almost constant fighting with the tribes on the line between Ali Kheyl and the Shuturgurdun. The course of events there is thus summarised in the *Indian Daily News* :

The first attack was made on the 27th September, and was on the party of the General himself. He, however, could not stay to chastise the tribesmen, as his business was to prevent a concentration of resistance at Cabul, by troops drawn from Turkestan, Ghuzneen, and the Kohistan. Impunity led to the assemblage of a larger number on the 2nd October, and to a smart action in which they suffered slightly at the hands of the 92nd and the 3rd Sikhs. When the army advanced from Kushi, the tribes looked on with wonder, and soon came to the conclusion that their opportunity had come, Ghilzais, Mangals, Jajis, flocked day after day to the scene of their presumed triumph, and even brought in 200 of their women to see the end of the garrison. By the 19th October, it is said, that no less than 17,000 men had assembled about the Shuturgurdun, and it had become a question of hours when their final assault should be delivered.

On the 13th they had an engagement at the Sirkai Kotal, at the foot of the Shuturgurdun on the east, brought on by the withdrawal of the garrison and stores from Karatiga, the post about which the Mangals have always been jealous, and which they swore they would destroy. This post was in charge of Allahuddin, the brother of Padishah Khan, but he did not join the camp when the stores were withdrawn. In the action on the 13th, the tribes suffered somewhat, but not enough to check them. Indeed, Lieutenant-Colonel Money, who commanded, was nearly caught. A ridge commanded the camp at the Shuturgurdun on the south, and this he neglected to occupy until he saw the fight at the Sirkai Kotal. He then detached a party to seize this southern ridge, and they found they were just in time, for the Ghilzais in great force had got up to within 50 yards of the crest, and were only beaten back with difficulty. On the 15th, the outposts were abandoned, and the troops all withdrawn under cover of the defences at the Sirkai Kotal, where all went to work with a will to complete the breast-works. On the 16th the Sirkai Kotal was abandoned, and it was reported that a body of some 400 of the regular soldiers of the Amir, armed with Sniders and Enfields, had joined the enemy. The next day, the 17th, the road was occupied, and the tribesmen protected the ground they had gained by *sangaahs* or rough stone walls, and assumed so threatening a position that a heavy attack was feared. They kept up an incessant firing and sent a Jirgah under Allahuddin Khan, who proposed first, that the garrison should surrender the pass, returning to Ali Kheyl; second, surrender the position, and retire to Cabul; and third, pay Rs. 2,00,000 for permission to remain unmolested. On the 18th, both parties prepared for what was evidently to be a final struggle. The Ghilzais never ceased to fire on the camp and picquets, and pushed on to within 300 yards, and made themselves masters of the water-supply of the garrison. This made the position critical; but just as they were about delivering their attack on the 19th, it was discovered that General Gough was at Kushi, whence he flashed a welcome message, and then pushed on to the Shinkai Kotal above Doband

on the west of the Shuterگردun, and, dispersing the enemy here, on the 20th marched into the Shuterگردun camp. As soon as succour was known to be near, Lieutenant-Colonel Money engaged his enemy, and after shelling their lines, he then attacked them with musketry. The fight lasted all day, but at evening the Ghilzais cleared off, and the long struggle was over. The attitude of Colonel Money is accounted for by the fact that his men had only their regimental ammunition, and that his mountain guns were also short of ammunition. He was not in a position to venture upon an attempt to check his enemy, and had to reserve all his strength for their final attack. His escape was a narrow one, because General Hugh Gough's arrival was accidental. If the Ghilzais had been successful at the Shuterگردun, General Roberts would have been lost in a sea of hostile tribes. The fault is the fault of the Government, which made no attempt to hold Kushi, and no attempt to push up troops in support of the army moving on Cabul.

General Gough, who had been sent back to Kushi from Cabul, on the 17th, to bring up stores, and who had thus, by a happy accident, been able to relieve Colonel Money on the Shuterگردun, returned to Cabul on the 4th November, the Shuterگردun route having in the meantime been closed, as a line of communication with Cabul, a measure rendered necessary by the liability of the Pass to be blocked with snow during the winter.

On the Khaibar side, General Charles Gough occupied Jelalabad on the 14th October; but the Jagdalak Kotal was not occupied till the beginning of the following month, when, General Macpherson, having been sent out from Cabul to open up communications with Bright's Division, met the latter with a flying column at Kata Sung. In the meantime, General Roberts with a small force from Cabul, had, a few days previously, reconnoitred the Khurd Cabul, Lattaband and Chinari passes, the last of which was pronounced impracticable.

In the middle of December, the entire force between Jamrud and Jagdalak was set down by the Government of India at about 12,000 men, including 15 regiments of Infantry, 4 regiments of Cavalry, 6 companies of Sappers and 5 batteries of Artillery, with 30 guns.

At Kandahar little of interest has occurred. General Hughes, who left that place, on the 23rd September, with a Brigade, consisting of the 59th Foot, the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, and wings of the 3rd Gurkhas and 2nd Beluchis, with two guns, reached Khelat-i-Ghilzai by the end of the month. There he disbanded the Governor's levies, and, leaving a garrison, started with the remainder of his Brigade towards Ghazni, but was brought up at Ab-i-Tazi, about thirty miles out, owing to the impossibility of procuring supplies in the country beyond. While encamped at Ab-i-Tazi, he was threatened by Saheb Jan, a notorious free-booter, who had collected a force of Tarakhi Ghilzais and Ghazis, and

occupied a strong position in his neighbourhood. Intelligence having reached General Hughes on the 23rd October that the enemy intended to attack him the following day, he determined to anticipate them, and sent out Colonel Kennedy of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, with 150 men of his own regiment, under Major Lance; 2 companies of the 59th, a wing of the 2nd Beluchis and 2 guns, under Major Harris, to reconnoitre and hold the enemy. Colonel Kennedy's force came suddenly upon Saheb Jan and his men, strongly posted in a village, and attacked them. A brilliant affair ensued, in which the enemy was completely routed, with the loss of Saheb Jan himself and 30 of his men. A party of Ghazis still retained their position in the ruins of an old fort on a steep eminence, which was carried by Captain Sartorius and eighteen men of the 59th, the whole of the Ghazis being killed. Our loss in this action was Captain Sartorius and Captain Broome, wounded, two men killed, and two native officers and twenty-five men wounded.

General Hughes was subsequently called back to Kandahar, which he reached on the 8th November, having left one squadron of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, a wing of the 29th Native Infantry and six companies of the 59th Foot to garrison Khelat-i-Ghilzai.

The work on the Sakkar-Dadur, now the Sakkar-Kandahar, line of railway, was commenced in the beginning of October, and by the end of the year about eighty miles had been completed. In accordance with the recommendation of Sir Richard Temple, who performed a wonderful journey on horseback to Kandahar and back, in connexion with the alignment of the line among other matters, the Government of India has decided on carrying it to Kandahar *vid* Sibi, Harnai, the Chappur mountain, Gwal, Gulistan Kurez and the Gwaja and Durra Passes, thus avoiding the difficulties of the Bolan.

The force under General Stewart, on the Dadur line, consisted, at the end of the year, of 9,045 troops of all arms, of whom 2,376 were Europeans and 6,669 natives, with 62 guns, including a siege train.

The month of November and the early part of December were chiefly occupied at Cabul in laying in supplies for the winter. Separate commissions were appointed for the trial of the military and political prisoners who were arrested from time to time, and some twenty prisoners, including the city Kotwal and two Risaladars, were executed, some for complicity in the attack on the Embassy, and others for being found with property of the Embassy, or arms, in their possession. Yakub Khan himself and the other political

prisoners of rank were deported to India, there to await the decision of the Home Government in their cases.

The situation at Kabul at the beginning of December was marked by formidable gatherings, both in the Kohistan hills on the North and about Maidan to the South. The information received by General Roberts, from time to time, regarding both the extent of these movements, and the plans of the enemy seems to have been of a most imperfect, if not misleading, character. Matters at length assumed so threatening an aspect, and the probability of a combined attack by these two bodies of the enemy upon the city became so imminent, that it was resolved to make an effort to prevent their junction. Accordingly, on the 10th of December, General Macpherson, with a Brigade marched out from Kila-afshar across the Chardeh plain with the intention of marching southwards, on reaching the Ghazni Kohistan Road, and attacking the enemy, who were marching northward from Maidan under Mahomed Jan, General Baker, with another Brigade, having, in the meantime, been sent round by Charasiah with the view of striking the Ghazni Road in the rear of the enemy, and thus intercepting his retreat. This combined movement, however, had evidently been planned in ignorance both of the positions and numbers of the forces whose junction it was intended to prevent. For, on reaching the head of the Pass between Chardeh and the Koh Daman, General Macpherson found that, instead of being free to advance southward against Mahomed Jan, his march was threatened by an immense force of Kohistanis, assembled in the Paghman Valley under Mir Batcha. Having to elect between retiring and attacking the enemy, he decided on the latter course, and, advancing against them with four companies of the 67th, six companies of the 5th Goorkhas, and 3 of the 3rd Sikhs, succeeded in driving them off. After this action, General Macpherson encamped at the Kotal for the night. The next morning four guns of the Royal Horse Artillery, escorted by two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, and one of the 14th Bengal Lancers, while advancing across the Chardeh plain, to join General Macpherson, were attacked by about ten thousand of the enemy under Mahomed Jan. The guns, having become entangled in difficult ground, had to be abandoned, after repeated charges by the Lancers, who had twenty-three casualties. Sherpur, which was very weakly held, being apparently the objective of the enemy, General Macpherson, with the Infantry, hurried down from his advanced position, by the Bamian Road; and the enemy, finding his rear thus threatened, turned off from the road to Sherpur, and made straight for the village of Dehmazung.

Here they were checked by a body of the 72nd Highlanders, who had occupied the roofs and walls of the village, and, being thus prevented from entering the city, a large body of them made for the heights to the South of the Bala Hissar, which they succeeded in occupying; General Macpherson, about the same time, occupying the fortified ridge immediately above the Bala Hissar. Here the enemy attacked him in the evening, but were beaten off. On the 12th, General Macpherson made repeated unsuccessful attempts to dislodge the enemy from the heights to the South. In the evening, General Baker with his Brigade, arrived from the Argandeh Valley, having been much harassed by the enemy on the way. The next morning, moving out with the 92nd Highlanders, the Guides Infantry, a wing of the 3rd Sikhs, a squadron of the 9th Lancers, the 5th Panjab Cavalry and eight guns, he stormed and carried the heights, General Macpherson simultaneously attacking from the Bala Hissar ridge, with 200 of the 6th Goorkhas, a company of the 72nd Highlanders, 250 of the 3rd Sikhs and a mountain battery. Mahomed Jan drew off his men towards Chardch, where they were much cut up by a squadron of the 14th Bengal Lancers, and at the same time a large body of Kohistanis advancing across the plain to the East of the Bemaru ridge were dispersed with great loss by the Guides Cavalry, and another body, who had been shelled out of the Siah Sang ridge, were cut up by squadrons of the 9th Lancers, 5th Panjab Cavalry and 14th Bengal Lancers.

Seeing, however, that, notwithstanding their defeat, the enemy was still collecting in increasing numbers in the surrounding country, General Roberts decided on abandoning the city and the Bala Hissar, and concentrating his entire force within the Sherpur cantonment. This movement, which was carried out on the 14th, was not effected without severe fighting and considerable loss on our side. On the Koh-i-Ismai, General Baker was attacked by the enemy from Chardch in overwhelming force. The battle in this direction lasted throughout the day, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the enemy were held in check and the General enabled to withdraw by the right of the city to Sherpur, General Macpherson also suffering some loss in retiring from the Bala Hissar between the city and the Siah Sang hills to the East. At the same time, the 12th Bengal Cavalry and part of the 23rd Pioneers were recalled from Butklak and reached Sherpur without opposition. The city was immediately occupied by the enemy and extensively pillaged, the Hindoo and Kizilbash inhabitants being the principal sufferers. On the 16th, Musa Khan, the son of Yakub Khan, was proclaimed Ameer by Mahomed Jan, and Mushki Allan, the Mullah, to

whose preaching the rising of the tribes appears to have been chiefly due. General Roberts occupied his time in strengthening the defences of the cantonment and the Bemaru ridge, commanding Sherpur, which had been also occupied by him.

On the 17th and following days, the enemy made repeated attempts to establish themselves in the neighbourhood of Sherpur ; but detailed accounts of the conflicts which ensued on these occasions, have not been received at the time of writing. In response to General Robert's urgent call for reinforcements, Brigadier-General Charles Gough's Brigade was ordered up from Jagdalak. Owing, however, partly to want of transport, and partly, it would seem, to an exaggerated estimate of the amount of opposition likely to be encountered, this movement was attended with inordinate delay, and it was not until the afternoon of the 23rd that General Gough arrived within sight of Kabul. On that morning, the enemy resumed their attack on General Robert's position in great force, directing their chief efforts against the East corner of the Bemaru ridge. The events of the day are thus described by a correspondent of the *Civil and Military Gazette*.

"Information had been received on the 22nd that the enemy would attack our cantonments that night or early the following morning, the signal of attack to be a beacon on Asmai heights. The troops were ordered to be on the alert all night, especially at daybreak on the 23rd, the last day of the Mohamedan festival. At 6 A. M. a light was seen and firing immediately commenced ; on each of the east and south sides of the cantonment a resolute attack was made by the enemy from a strong village outside of Bemaru which was occupied by us ; this was repulsed by a heavy fire from the guides infantry. Throughout the day the fire of the enemy was incessant, especially from the garden which they had occupied on the withdrawing of the 5th Punjab Cavalry therefrom on the previous day ; their fire also from a wall running up to the south-west side of the cantonment was particularly heavy. The general disposition for defence was as follows :—General Hills, with the 5th Punjab Infantry, 3rd Sikhs, 5th Goorkhas, one and a half squadron of cavalry, dismounted, held from the west gateway to the gorge in the hill in the centre of the cantonment to the north ; thence General Hugh Gough with the 23rd Pioneers and details to the north-east. General Macpherson and Colonel Brownlow held the line and bastions to the south, with wings of the 67th and 72nd Regiments, and the Sappers, the hills on the left ; General Baker in reserve in the rear of the gorge with wings of the 67th, 72nd and 92nd : of artillery a nine-pounder was placed in the south-east corner of the bastion, three guns and two heavy, one mountain gun in the bastion on the south-west, two nine-pounders on the crest of the hill under General Hills, sweeping the north-west face. The enemy showing in great force on the east and south-east, two guns and 50 Goorkhas escorting were sent out through the gorge to check the advance, cavalry under Massey were also sent out, making, a wide detour towards the north-east, out-flanking the enemy and cutting up about a hundred. This movement caused the enemy to retire into the villages to the east of our position, from when towards the evening they retreated in vast numbers towards Siab Sung heights. During their retreat they were exposed to heavy fire from the 92nd from the south-east corner of the bastion ; meanwhile cavalry had reached Siab Sung and succeeded in

blowing up two villages at the foot of the range, during which operation Captain Dundas and Lieutenant Nugent were killed, owing to the premature explosion of the fuze. The enemy appeared on Siah Sung heights, from which they kept up a smart fire on our cavalry; the fire from our nine-pounder guns checked their advance from the north-west; fighting continued till dark; the enemy's loss is computed at four hundred killed; our casualties were thirty-eight. During the night Mahomed Jan and his troops left the city, marching towards Chardeh Valley and Kohistan in thousands.'

The discomfiture of the enemy was complete, and by nightfall they were withdrawing on all sides. The following day General Gough marched into Sherpur and preparations were made to re-occupy the city and the Bala Hissar. Three days later a force was sent under General Baker into Kohistan. In the city, the mother and wife of Yakub Khan, who were deeply implicated in the rising, were arrested.

Our loss from the 10th to the 23rd December was a little over three hundred killed and wounded, and the strength of the force with General Roberts on the latter date was about 5,800 effectives of all arms, exclusive of a detachment of 700 men at Lattaband.

The military history of the Quarter would be incomplete without some reference to the Naga outbreak, and the little war it has entailed upon us on our North-Eastern frontier.

Early in October, Mr. Damant, the Political Officer in the Naga Hills appears to have received information that the men of Khonoma were collecting arms and ammunition, and he consequently determined to proceed to the village with a small force from Kohima for the purpose of seizing them. He arrived at Khonoma, on the 14th October, with a guard of eighty men, consisting partly of regulars and partly of police, and having incautiously approached the village, was attacked and killed with upwards of forty of his guard, the remainder dispersing and escaping with difficulty to Kohima. Hardly had the small force stationed there, with the residents and their attendants, had time to retire within the stockade then it was besieged by a large force of Nagas. For thirteen days the party were shut up, and their supply of water being insufficient, they must, in all probability, have surrendered but for the arrival of Col. Johnstone, who, with most praiseworthy energy and promptitude, had marched out from Manipur with a large force of Kukis and Manipuris.

The 44th N. I., which had reached Goalundo, on its way to the seat of war in Afghanistan, when the outrage occurred, was immediately ordered back, and an expedition against Khonoma organised under the command of Brigadier-General Nation. Owing to difficulties in the matter of transport and supplies, the operations which followed were attended with great delay, and

the Nagas thus had time to prepare a most formidable series of defences. At length on the 22nd November a force of about 600 men was assembled at Khonoma, and, after a desperate conflict resulting in the loss of four officers wounded, two mortally, and between forty and fifty men killed and wounded, the village was occupied, the Nagas making good their escape, with a loss of about sixty killed and wounded, to other fastnesses in the hills.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, with an Introduction, prose Versions, and parallel Passages from Classical Authors. By J. Muir, C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D., London, Trübner & Co.: Ludgate Hill. 1879.

Though made up to a great extent of matter previously published by its learned author, this handsome volume forms a most valuable addition to the body of Oriental literature available to English readers. It constitutes in fact, a copious anthology of the Sanskrit classics, and, apart from its purely literary interest, is calculated to fulfil an important moral purpose. For it is impossible to read many pages of it without being convinced that the attainment of the highest ethical truths is independent of any special revelation. We may safely say that there is nothing in the moral code recognised by Christians which is not to be found iterated again and again in this collection of wise sayings of ancient Indian sages. Even those maxims which religious pride, combined with ignorance of facts, or a narrow and unphilosophic conception of the genesis of moral sentiments, leads many persons to regard as peculiar to Christianity, are here laid down in terms so closely resembling those with which they are specially connected in the minds of Christians, as to have induced prejudiced critics to find in the coincidence a proof of plagiarism.

With meekness conquer wrath, and ill with ruth ;
By giving niggards vanquish, lies with truth.

Mahābhārata iii. 13253 ; v. 1518 ; xii. 9972.

Reviling meet with patience ; ne'er
To men malignant malice bear.
Harsh tones and wrathful language greet
With gentle speech and accents sweet.
When struck, return not thou the blow.

Mahābhārata v. 1270 ; xii. 11008.

Hear virtue's sum expressed in one
Brief maxim—lay it well to heart,
Ne'er do to others what, if done
To thee, would cause thee inward smart.

Punchatantra iii. 104.

His action no applause invites,
 Who simply good with good repays :
 He only justly merits praise
 Who wrongful deeds with kind requites.

Punchatantra i. 277.

In an introduction, Dr. Muir discusses the question lately brought into prominence by Lorinser, though not raised by him for the first time, with special regard to the Bhāgavad Gītā, of the influence of the New Testament on the moral ideas of the Indians. It is to be regretted that Dr. Muir has not given us any very definite opinion of his own on the subject ; but it is easy to see which way his convictions tend, and the weight of the critical opinions quoted by him is strongly in favour of the originality of the Hindu writers in this respect. In forming an opinion on the question, he very pertinently says :—

“ We should, supposing the alleged resemblances to be admitted, consider, first, whether the ideas, sentiments, or figures of speech supposed to be borrowed by the Indians from the west, are not such as might naturally arise in the human, or at least in the oriental, mind ; secondly, whether they cannot be traced, at least in germ, in Indian writers of such antiquity as to exclude the supposition of foreign influence ; thirdly, whether they do not so pervade the Indian writings as to be manifestly indigenous and original ; fourthly, whether the writings of any other countries, known to be independent of Christian influences, contain ideas or sentiments supposed to be exclusively or peculiarly Christian ; and fifthly, what probability there is that the Brahmans of the period in question could have been brought into contact with foreign ideas, and whether they would have been intellectually and morally open to, and susceptible of, such influences.

The appendix and supplement to Dr. Muir's work in which he gives prose translations of a large number of the passages, and compares them, where they admit of comparison, with passages from the Greek and Latin classics, is most valuable. Many of these parallelisms are very striking.

To the miscellaneous translations are added a series from hymns of the Rigveda. We give that descriptive of Yama, the Indian Pluto, and a future life, which appears to us to possess a singular interest, as indicative, in fourteen out of the seventeen stanzas comprised in it, of a state of faith absolutely inconsistent with, and obviously anterior to, the philosophic doctrine of final absorption in the one immanent spirit ; a primitive Aryan belief probably handed down intact from the pre-migration period, and closely resembling the popular Greek views on the same subject.

Rigvéda x. 14 ; x. 15 ; x. 16 ; and *Atharva Veda*.

To great king Yama homage pay,
Who was the first of men that died,
That crossed the mighty gulf, and spied
For mortals out the heavenly way.

No power can ever close the road
Which he to us laid open then,
By which, in long procession, men
Ascend to his sublime abode.

By it our fathers all have passed ;
And that same path we too shall trace,
And every new succeeding race
Of mortal men, while time shall last.

The god assembles round his throne
A growing throng, the good and wise,—
All those whom, scanned with searching eyes,
He recognises as his own.

Departed mortal, speed from earth
By those old ways thy sires have trod ;
Ascend, behold the expectant god
Who calls thee to a higher birth.

First must each several element
That joined to form thy living frame,
Flit to the region whence it came,
And with its parent source be blent.

'Thine eye shall seek the solar orb,
Thy life-breath to the wind shall fly,
Thy part ethereal to the sky ;
Thine earthy part shall earth absorb.

Thine unborn part shall Agni bright
With his benignant rays illumine,
And guide it through the trackless gloom
To yonder sphere of life and light.

On his resplendent pinions rise,
Or soar upon a car aloft,
By wind-gods fanned with breezes soft,
Until thou enterest paradise.

And calmly pass, without alarm,
The four-eyed hounds which guard the road
That leads to Yama's bright abode :
Their master's friends they dare not harm.

All imperfections leave behind :
Assume thine ancient frame once more,—
Each limb, and sense, thou hadst before,
From every earthly taint refined.

And now with heavenly glory bright,
With life intenser, nobler, blest,
With large capacity to taste
A fuller measure of delight.

Thou there once more each well-known face
 Shalt see of those thou lovedst here :
 Thy parents, wife, and children dear,
 With rapture shalt thou then embrace.

The fathers, too, shalt thou behold,
 The heroes who in battle died,
 The saints and sages glorified,
 The pious, bounteous kings of old.

The gods whom here in humble wise
 Thou worshippedst with doubt and awe,
 Shall there the impervious veil withdraw
 Which hid their glory from thine eyes.

The good which thou on earth hast wrought,
 Each sacrifice, each pious deed,
 Shall there receive its ample meed :
 No worthy act shall be forgot.

In those fair realms of cloudless day,
 Where Yama every joy supplies,
 And every longing satisfies,
 Thy bliss shall never know decay.

Dr. Muir's metrical translations are throughout admirable ; at once elegant, simple, and faithful to the sense of the originals.

Modern India and the Indians, being a Series of Impressions, Notes, and Essays. By Monier Williams, D.C.L., Hon. L.L.D. of the University of Calcutta, Hon. Member of the Bombay Asiatic Society, Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. *Third Edition, Revised and augmented by considerable Additions.* London ; Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill. 1879.

IT speaks well for the growing interest taken by the British reading public in India that this volume of thoughtful and picturesque essays on the country and its people has, in less than eighteen months, reached a third edition. As we have already noticed the first edition at some length, we shall confine ourselves, on the present occasion, to such parts of the volume before us as consist of new material.

Dr. Monier Williams, in his preface, informs the reader that the chapter on the "Villages and Rural Population of India," and several other sections of the work, are quite new, while the two essays on the "Progress of our Indian Empire" are, in the main, reprinted from the *Contemporary Review*.

The writer's sketch of the general features of village organisation in India is based mainly on the study of Gujarati models, and, though he admits that the details are not uniform throughout the country, we think he displays a tendency, on the whole, to exaggerate the extent of communal self-government still pre-

vailing. Though there is probably no part of India in which the village communities do not still retain more or less of the ancient system and machinery, it is in many parts little more than a survival.

Most undoubtedly he is at fault when he says: "Happily for India, and for our own tenure of the country, our policy has always been to preserve existing native institutions as far as possible intact. We encourage the people to settle their own disputes among themselves in their own way. We make a point of upholding the action of native *Panchāyats*, though we do not, of course, give legal validity to all their decisions."

Where our policy has not been one of pure indifference, the reverse of this is generally the truth; and one of the great defects in our latest schemes of rural self-government is, that they ignore, instead of utilising, not only existing native institutions, but the very principles on which they are based. As to the *Panchāyat* system, the countenance we give it amounts to bare toleration alone. On this side of India, practically, nothing is done to encourage and develop it, though it would furnish the solution of many difficulties.

A very interesting account is given of the different functionaries in the village of Khatraj, which the writer has selected as a typical case:—

1. First comes the Patwārī, or village accountant and registrar, who is a kind of Government land-steward, keeping the Jama-bandi or account of lands, produce, rents and assessments of his village. He sometimes acts as Majmūdār (otherwise Majumdār, corrupted into Mumumdār) or State Record-keeper, and in some parts of Western India is called Talāti. This functionary comes next to the head-man in importance and influence, having often independent authority, irrespective of his office as a Government agent. He usually receives about half the emoluments of the head-man.

2. Then, secondly, there is the village chaplain, or domestic priest (called in Sanskrit Purohita, and in Gujarātī Gor for Guru)—who performs all religious ceremonies for the villagers, the impure castes only excepted. He is supported by fixed allotments of grain, and by special presents of food at caste dinners, or by gifts of money on occasions of births, weddings, and other family solemnities. He often combines supplementary functions of a kindred nature. For example, he may be astrologer, almanac-maker, and schoolmaster. Furthermore, he and his wife are generally the village match-makers, arranging all the marriages of the community with careful attention to caste-usages.

3. Next comes the Nāl, or barber (Sanskrit Nāpit, Arabic Hājām, sometimes vulgarly called Wārand or Wāland, and in Gujarāt, Ghaengo or Ghaejī)—who, with his kit of primitive razors and implements of the rudest description, does all the work expected of him admirably. No man in India thinks of shaving himself. Hence the barber is an important member of the community. His duties are not confined to shaving. He cuts nails, shampoos the limbs, and often acts as village doctor¹. In some parts of India he helps to arrange marriages.

¹ His wife is often the village midwife.

4. Fourth on the list may be placed the Kumbhār, or potter (Sanskrit Kumbha-kāra)—who by means of a wheel (*chakra*) of the simplest construction, makes all the earthenware pots and platters of the villagers with a skill truly surprising. He generally uses a donkey to fetch his materials, and from his cleverness in moulding clay into any shape, is facetiously called Prajāpati, 'the creator.'

5. Fifth must be mentioned the Sātār, or carpenter (Sanskrit Sātra-dhāra)—who also with the roughest tools does the village carpentering admirably. He ought perhaps to have been named earlier, as he ranks high in the social scale, and in proof of his superior pretensions even claims the privilege of wearing the sacred thread like a Brāhman.

6. Then in close company with the carpenter will always be found the Lohār, or blacksmith (Sanskrit Lohā-kāra). These two useful workmen together make and mend all the village tools and agricultural implements.

7. Next comes the Dhobi, or washerman—an important personage, for no family ever thinks of saving money by washing at home. This operation can only be performed by a man of the right caste.

8. Eighth in the list may be placed the Bhīsti (properly Bihishti), or water-carrier—sometimes called Pakhāli. He generally carries water in two leather-skins suspended over the back of a bullock, or in one skin suspended over his own back.

9. Next ought to be reckoned the Darzi (often corrupted into Darji) or tailor—sometimes called Sūi from his use of the Sūchi, or needle, and in the Dekkan Sipi or Simpi. He is not so important a person as in Europe, for the simple reason that an ordinary Indian's clothes need very little stitching. Still such sewing as may be required is always done by the tailor and his wife, never by the women of the family.

10. The tenth personage in the catalogue is the Mochi, or shoemaker—who repairs the shoes of the community, and makes the leather work required in yoking the bullocks. Many of the villagers are content to remain shoeless, but the cultivators require good thick soles, frequently made of rhinoceros-hide brought from Zanzibar.

11. Last but one, but not nearly least in importance, comes the Chaukidār, or watchman (in Gujarāt called Rākhewād, or Pahari). Of these functionaries there are usually four, and in larger rural communes even fifteen or twenty. Though very poor, their trustworthiness, when in charge of treasure or valuables of any kind, is remarkable. In some places the watchman is also a Government official, who receives as his pay five acres of rent-free land. In Orissa, according to Dr. Hunter, he is generally allowed by the villagers to select the largest sheaf of corn in every field.

12 Under the twelfth head must be placed the impure castes, who do all the dirty work of the village:—for example, the Chamār, or tanner (Sanskrit Charma-kāra), who prepares and hands over to the shoemaker all the hides and skins of the sheep, oxen and other animals that die in the commune; the Dhed or Dher; and the Bhangī². These last two personages are the village menials. Their work is absolutely necessary to the comfort, if not to the very health and life, of its population. They are not only sweepers and scavengers; they do other menial work, and are often trusted with the important duty of carrying letters. The Bhangī also shows the road to travellers, carrying a bamboo walking-stick with which he removes thorns and briars from the path. Both Dher and Bhangis are gross feeders. They devour the flesh of cows, buffaloes, and all animals that die a natural death in the village. They also drink spirituous liquor, but rarely become

² The proper occupation of the Bhangī is said to be that of breaking (Sanskrit *bhāṅg* to break) reeds to make baskets.

intoxicated. In some parts of Western India, the low caste sweeper population are called Mbārs. In other parts of India the name Dom is common.

The various officials enumerated under the above twelve divisions along with the head-man, form the ordinary complement of servants and handicraftsmen needed for the maintenance of even the smallest rural communities. They are all paid by receiving portions of the grain or other produce in different proportions, according to the character and extent of their services.

Larger villages add other distinct functionaries, such as the *Guru* or school-master; the *Joskī*, or astrologer (Sanskrit *Jyotishī*), who names the lucky days for sowing, ploughing, marriages, journeys, &c., draws out horoscopes and almanacs, and tells fortunes—a most important personage, for nine-tenths of the people of India are slaves to astrological superstition; the *Vaid*, or village apothecary and doctor (Sanskrit *Vaidya*); the *Teli* or oil-man (Sanskrit *Tailī*; in some places called *Ghanchī*); the *Kasari*, otherwise *Kasari*, or brazier; the *Koli* or weaver; the *Rangari* or dyer; the *Halwāī*, or confectioner. Then in some villages there is the *Gāpurgārī*, or hailstorm-charmer, who charms away hailstorms from the crops, and other varieties of charmers, such as the tiger-charmer, the snake-charmer, and above all the demon-charmer, who exorcises devils and other evil spirits.

Mutatis mutandis—the wife of the Chamār, for instance, being substituted for the wife of the Hajām in Behar, as the village midwife—this picture will hold good of most Indian villages.

On the whole, Professor Monier Williams is favourably impressed with rural institutions and character. He says:—

With regard to the general character of the rural population of Western India. I may state that an experienced military officer, for some time Surveyor-General of the Bombay Presidency, recorded, about fifty years ago, the impressions he formed in the course of a minute survey of the country¹. At that time the villagers of every caste were found by him and his assistants to be 'simple and temperate' in their habits, 'quiet and peaceful' in disposition, 'obedient and faithful' in the fulfilment of duty. It was believed that they 'had the advantage of Europeans of the same class, not only in propriety of manners, but in the practice of moral virtues.' They had no 'conspicuous vices.' The affection and tenderness of parents was returned by the 'habitual dutifulness of their children.' Hospitality towards strangers 'was carefully observed.' Everywhere throughout the country 'there was charity without ostentation.' No beggars were to be seen, 'except those who were religious mendicants by profession.' Though there was no poor law, 'the indigent and diseased were always provided for by the internal village arrangements.' There was everywhere such mutual confidence that 'no written documents in transactions involving money payments were required.' The cultivators paid their rents and took no receipts. Money and valuables were deposited 'without any other security than the accounts of the parties.' On a particular occasion at an immense religious fair on the banks of the Nerbada, two hundred thousand people were collected, yet there was 'no rioting, no quarrelling, no drunkenness nor disorder of any kind.' All were intent on their religious

¹ See Lieut.-Colonel Monier Williams' 'Memoir of the Zilla of Broach,' p. 108. In quoting my father's authority, I may mention that his experience of India extended over twenty-four years of unbroken active service.

duties. The officers employed on the survey had 'no other guard but the village watchmen,' yet no robbery was committed, nor was the smallest article ever pilfered from the tents.

I cannot think that much change has passed over the people since this favourable impression made by their behaviour and general character fifty years ago. It is true, that they now often appear in a very different light to their rulers. In our courts of justice they are constantly guilty of gross deception. But it seems doubtful whether Europeans would be very different in their attitude towards State officials under similar circumstances. Here in England a large number of people see no impropriety in evading the taxes, breaking the laws, and deceiving the police. In point of fact we are apt to judge the natives of India by the character they present to their foreign rulers, rather than by that they bear towards each other in their own homes. The same men who in our courts of law have no idea of the duty of truth, will in their own Panchâyats settle disputes with perfect fairness.

With the above estimate most persons, who have studied Indian village life from a sufficiently close standpoint, will agree.

He is even more favourably impressed with the economic condition of the great body of the people:

And here I may observe that notwithstanding the apparent poverty of the common people of India, they are rarely poor to the point of discomfort. Thanks to the climate they have few wants, and are very thrifty. However small the weekly earnings, a little money is sure to be saved, and that little is never wasted on strong drinks. Instead, however, of being laid by as it ought to be, in the Post-office Savings Bank, it is generally invested in jewellery for the adornment of the women and children of the family. Certainly, after looking at Indian females, whether old or young—their arms, legs, fingers, and toes covered with bangles and rings, generally made of silver and not seldom of gold—it is difficult to believe in the poverty, much less in the alleged bankruptcy of India. Scarcely a woman of the poorest families is without a nose-ring in one nostril, and many of the better classes have also necklaces and earrings. Sometimes the nasal organ is decorated with a small circlet of five or six pearls set in gold, with an emerald in the centre. I once saw a woman who lived in a mud cottage, and earned 20 rupees a month as nurse. She had a double row of chased gold beads round her neck. Her nose-ring had six fine pearls, but she had not yet saved enough money for the central emerald, which is sure to be procured and duly inserted a few years hence.

Again, when I was at Ahmedabad, I was invited into the house of a man who has a large family, and who has been earning about £100 a year as a Government servant for many years. He took me into a private room, opened a deal box in the corner and displayed the jewels worn by his wife and children on festive occasions. I believe I am under the mark when I say that they might have been sold in England for at least £1,500.

So also one has only to go to a railway station when a local train comes in, to see an almost incredible amount of jewellery in the third-class carriages. Men and women are packed like sheep, the sexes being kept separate, but scarcely a woman, except the very poorest, is without a nose-ring in one nostril, or an earring in one ear, or gold or silver ornaments of some kind.

Again we were one day taken by the Collector of Kaira's wife to a girls' school. My companions were ladies who inspected it closely. They informed me that 35 girls were assembled in the class-room awaiting their

arrival with six women superintendents. All the girls, however poor, wore ornaments of some sort or other, and two or three tiny children of three or four years of age, though wholly unencumbered with clothing, were literally bowed down by the weight of thick bracelets, necklaces and ankle-rings. A few, only of the poorest, had necklaces and ornaments made of straw. The teachers, too, were profusely decorated, only one poor widow in sombre attire, and undecorated by a single ornament, stood aloof as if apologizing for being present in the room, or indeed, for being present in the world at all.

Had the writer travelled in Behar, he would probably have felt it necessary to warn the reader against confounding weight of female jewellery with value, and altogether, we suspect, would have come to a widely different conclusion regarding the condition of the people.

Hindu Tribes and Castes; together with an Account of the Mahomedan Tribes of the North-West Frontier and of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces. By the Rev. M. A. Sherring, MA., LL. B., Lond; Fellow of the Calcutta University; Corresponding Member of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Vol. II, Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. Ludgate Hill. London: Trübner and Co. Bombay: Thacker and Co. Madras: Higginbotham and Co. 1879.

MR. Sherring's previous volume exhibited the tribes and castes of India as represented in Benares. Thus, most of the principal Brahmanical tribes, and the Hindu, inferior and non-Aryan tribes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh came within its scope; but few of the other tribes of the Peninsula were included in its range. The present volume proceeds upon a more scientific principle, and discusses the tribes of well-defined geographical areas according to their habitats. The tracts of country thus dealt with are the Panjab and its North-Western Frontier; the Central Provinces and Berar; the Bombay Presidency and the Province of Scinde; and, as regards the North-West Frontier and Central Provinces, it includes the Mahomedan and Aboriginal tribes, respectively.

In a work of this comprehensive character exhaustive treatment is hardly to be expected, and in many cases, Mr. Sherring gives little more than the names and occupation, or character, of the tribes catalogued. In the case of tribes of importance, however, more detailed, and often highly interesting, information is given.

The introduction, which contains a critical dissertation on the Brahmanical and Rajput tribes and their mutual relations, with very copious lists of their names and the localities inhabited by them, deserves more than a passing notice.

In connexion with the Brahmins, Mr. Sherring lays great stress upon the remarkable fact that, while making claim to community of origin, and while basing on that origin a common title to special sanctity and superiority over all the other tribes, they exhibit, among themselves, not only extraordinary physical diversity, but a degree of mutual exclusiveness and intolerance not surpassed by what obtains between the most widely-separated castes.

"The Brahmanical tribes in some of their leading divisions are as rigidly opposed to mutual social intercourse as to intercourse with inferior castes. There is no communion whatever between Brahmins of the North and Brahmins of the South. The five great tribes in the North, known as Gaur, though they may meet and acknowledge each other's Brahmanical rank, can form no close alliances with one another, and would be execrated if they partook of a meal sitting together on the same carpet. A similar intense and hostile exclusiveness does not prevail among the five Drâvira tribes of the South, nevertheless marriage between them is utterly forbidden.

The tribes, therefore, are isolated. But even their sub-divisions are not always allowed free intercourse. For example, the five chief branches of the Kanoujiya Brahmins are under considerable restrictions. The members of the principal branch will only permit their sons to contract alliances with the women of the other branches, but will not give their daughters to their sons. The three great Brahmin families of Mysore are separated widely from one another, and take the utmost pains to keep apart."

Thus they give the lie in practice to their profession of unity and display a want of solidarity, and an incapacity for community of action, only equalled by the pride with which they keep other castes at a distance.

"Hundreds of these tribes, if not at enmity with one another, cherish mutual distrust and antipathy to such a degree, that they are socially separated from one another, as far as it is possible for them to be,—as much as Brahmins are from the lowest outcastes,—neither eating nor drinking together, nor intermarrying, and only agreed in matters of religion, and in the determination to maintain the pride and secular dominancy of their order. The Brahmins display all the vices of a family divided against itself with more than ordinary intensity, for each one presumes on his purity of caste and birth, and affects the airs and ostentation of an eldest son and heir.

There is no feature of the Brahmanical priesthood more supremely characteristic of the entire race than this, that the Brahmins have utterly lost their federalism, and are now split up into an infinite number of divisions, with no common bond of

brotherhood between them beyond the conviction that, while they do not agree among themselves, they, to the same extent precisely, do not agree with all other castes below them. So far as their separation from other Hindu castes, and their assumed superiority over them are concerned, they are Brahmans of the same fraternity, and yet internally they are, at the same time, distracted by all the feuds, antipathies, and jealousies of all the castes combined.

Could there be again in India, as there used to be in former times, assemblies of Brahmans from all parts of the country, for the discussion of some important subject connected with religion and philosophy, such assemblies would be of the most motley character, and would be marked by discord and suspicion. Indeed, the absence of such assemblies, and their impossibility in these days, are a proof, if any were needed, of the universal disintegration of the Brahmanical race.

So far as their supreme attachment to Hinduism, and their intense belief in the superiority of their order, are concerned, but in no other sense, they are one family—a family, however, as shown above, divided into hundreds of factions through internal dissension and corruption.”

The family is divided into two great branches—the Gaur and the Drâvira—each, again, separated into five tribes, *viz.* the Gaur into the Kanoujiya; the Saraswat; the Gaur; the Maithila, and the Utkala, Brahmans; and the Drâvira into the Maharashtra; the Tailanga; the Drâvira; the Karnata, and the Gurjar Brahmans. The five Gaur tribes are again divided into an enormous number of sub-tribes, of which Mr. Sherring has catalogued more than two hundred.

The Drâvira tribes are less numerously sub-divided, and they also, on the whole, exhibit more mutual tolerance.

The dissertation closes with a discussion of the question how far the two great Brahmanical families of Gaurs and Drâviras are ethnologically connected. On this point Mr. Sherring says: “Two of the principal Drâvira tribes—the Maharashtra and the Gurjar—may at once be disposed of. It is beyond all dispute that these Brahmans are from North-Western India, and consequently were formerly one with the Gaur tribes. Moreover, the two languages spoken by them—Mahratti and Gujerati—like the languages of the Gaurs, are both derived from Sanskrit. In other words, the five Gaur tribes, and also the Maharashtra and Gurjar tribes, are all Aryan in origin.

The remaining three Drâvira tribes,—namely, Tallanga, Drâvira, and Karnata,—speak Dravidian languages, having no affinity whatever with Sanskrit and its derivative tongues. Nevertheless, their sacred language, which they all more or less study, is Sanskrit;

and in this respect, therefore, they resemble the Brahmans to the north, north-west, and West of themselves. The common belief, based on good grounds, is that, languages of Northern India derived from Sanskrit have acquired many of their peculiar dialectic changes through contact with the languages of aboriginal tribes which they eventually superseded, and yet that in their strongest features they have continued to retain their original Sanskritic type. The aboriginal races of Southern India, on the contrary, by reason of the comparative sparsity of Aryan immigration from the north, were able to hold fast their own languages, which became in fact the languages of the primitive Aryan settlers, alike of Brahmans and of castes below them. It has thus come to pass, that Dravidian, in some form, whether Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, or Maliyâlin, is spoken and written by the inhabitants of Southern India, aboriginal and non-aboriginal, Hindu and non-Hindu, Brahmans, Paria, and Shânâr.

If this were the only guide we had, we should be led to the belief that the Brahmans of Southern India were not Aryans, but Dravidians. In cast of countenance and general *physique*, they are, however, manifestly akin to Northern Brahmans, and not to the Dravidian races. Although differences will be seen, still there is confessedly a much closer resemblance between Southern and Northern Brahmans than between Brahmans of Bengal, who are frequently of dark complexion and of small stature, and Brahmans of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, who are light in colour, and of tall and commanding figure. But this statement is not merely true in regard to Brahmans, but is also true in respect of a large proportion of Hindus,—that is, of castes below Brahmanical, within the pale of Hinduism, in Southern India. Physically they approach much more nearly to Aryan types than to Dravidian. When it is added, that the prevalent traditions in the south show that Brahmans and other Hindus immigrated thither in small batches from the north and north-west of India during a considerable period in primitive times, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion, that nearly all this great class of the community is in fact ethnologically allied to the Hindus of the north.

We may consequently look upon the Brahmans of the south, in spite of their rigid exclusiveness, of their differences in language and customs, and of other peculiarities, as of the same family originally as Brahmans in the north. Not a few spurious Brahmans are to be found in both regions; yet I believe that, in the main, the great Brahmanical community, of many tribes and languages, scattered over the whole of India, is one and the same people, who have preserved the purity of their blood with, on the whole, wonderful success."

The Rajputs are distinguished from the Brahmans by their comparative solidarity, all the tribes, with few exceptions, eating and drinking together and intermarrying, though in many cases such unions between different tribes can be entered into only on payment of more or less heavy penalties. Unlike the Brahmans, too, they are chiefly confined to certain large divisions of the country, viz., the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Rajputana, the Panjab, Central India, the Central Provinces, Gujarat and Cutch. This is Mr. Sherring's enumeration, but surely, it should include Behar.

Of their character the author forms a very high estimate. He says: "The Rajputs, while of haughty bearing, yet less proud than the Brahmans, are a chivalrous people, naturally fond of war and strife, noble and generous in demeanour, free from meanness and subtlety, delighting in deeds displaying strength and courage, and the most manly of all Hindu races. Tall, well-made, muscular, with a powerful arm and an expressive countenance, rulers and aristocrats by birth, resentful of wrong, impatient of change, they command at once the respect and homage of all classes of native society. Their influence on such classes is not only very great, but as a whole, is very good. They are loyal and well-disposed to the British Government, as they have a thorough conviction that their rank, wealth, and existence, as a separate class, are largely dependent on the position they hold in relation to their rulers.

We note that Mr. Sherring promises a third volume, which will deal with Rajputana and the Madras Presidency, and be accompanied by an index of the entire work.

Notes on the Agriculturists of the District of Aurungabad, His Highness the Nizam's Dominions. By Furdoonji Jamshedji, Superintendent, Revenue Survey and Assessment, North-Western Division, Bombay: Published at the *Times of India* Office.

This is a painstaking account of the condition of the agricultural community in one of the Haidarabad districts, by a thoroughly competent native, whose position in the district for the last nine years has specially qualified him for the task. It possesses a particular interest at the present moment, as furnishing exact data for a comparison between the state of the cultivators in a well managed native State and in adjacent British territory.

Chapters IV and V, describing the relations between the agriculturist and the money lender, and furnishing copious statistics of the extent of individual holdings, amount of revenue paid, cost

of cultivation, outturn of grain per acre, profits of cultivation, and the like, are the most valuable parts of the book.

Though, judging by the average area of their holdings—about fifty acres,—the agriculturists of Aurungabad, as a body, must be much more substantial than those of the neighbouring British districts, much the same condition of general indebtedness prevails. On a rough estimate, the writer assumes that about eighty per cent. of the cultivators are in debt. Detailed statistics of five villages show 63·64 per cent. in debt. The average amount of the debt did not, however, exceed two years income, while in no case, was it in excess of five years income, and more than half those indebted had become so within the last year or two, “from which it may reasonably be inferred that the larger portion were driven into debt by the distress that prevailed in 1876-77.”

Mr Furdoonji Jamshedji gives an interesting account of the different terms on which the cultivator borrows money from the Sâvkâr.

When the cultivator is prosperous and thrifty, he does not trouble to ask for petty loans, from time to time, but borrows a lump sum from the Sâvkâr, for the payment of Government assessment, or for any other purpose, and the interest to a borrower of this class does not usually exceed one per cent. per mensem. The cultivator agrees to repay the loan at the next rabi or kharif harvest, but the agreement is generally verbal, and not written. If, at the harvest time, the cultivator sees that the prevailing prices of grain are low, and if he thinks that there is a prospect of obtaining better prices further on, he reserves his stock of grain until such time, and asks the Sâvkâr to allow the loan to stand over till then. Where the cultivator's credit does not stand very high, he has generally to pay more interest,—say about Re. 1-8-0 per cent. per mensem. When any one of this class resorts to a Sâvkâr, he has, in the first instance, to pass a bond, but when he becomes known to the money-lender, this formality is no longer necessary. Very frequently the Sâvkâr takes payment in grain, which is sold to him at the market rate, the only difference being that, in weighing, about four or five seers (8 or 10 lbs.) is added to a pulla (240 lbs.) as *kussur*. Cultivators of this class do not generally borrow anything under ten rupees; nor do they, as a rule, borrow seed-grain, or grain for consumption, from the Sâvkâr.

If a cultivator does not enjoy good credit, the Sâvkâr lends him money on any of the four following terms:—

1. *On interest and compound interest.*—The borrower passes a bond to the Sâvkâr, say for one hundred rupees. For this he receives Rs. 98 in Cash, Rs. 2 being deducted as *munodi* by the Sâvkâr. The cultivator agrees to pay interest at a rate which varies from Re. 1-8 to Rs. 2 per mensem, and to repay the advance at the next kharif or rabi harvest. If he fails to do this, and defers payment till the subsequent harvest, compound interest is charged. The Sâvkâr, after having the bond executed, does not pay down the amount in a lump sum, but lets the cultivator have it, from time to time, in sums sufficient to pay the Government assessment, or to buy cattle, or to expend in similar purposes. The Sâvkâr frequently pays the Government assessment direct to the Patel and Patwadi in Halli Sicca rupees, but he recovers the

amount from the cultivator in British rupees, making a profit of one or two per cent. in the rate of exchange.

2. *Buttā Mubādla*.—The Sāvkar pays the Government assessment direct to the Patel and Patwadi in Halli Sicca rupees, and recovers from the cultivator at harvest time the same amount in British rupees. The profit he makes in the difference between the value of Halli Sicca and British rupees is considerable, because the rate of exchange varies from Rs. 14 to Rs. 22 per cent., and the period of the loan seldom or never exceeds three months. If the loan is not repaid at harvest time, interest at one or one and a half per cent. is allowed to run on the sum till it is repaid at next harvest.

Rāgvādā or *Loāni*.—The cultivator raises a loan, passing a written agreement to repay it from the produce of his fields. The Sāvkar forms an estimate of what would be the probable ruling prices at harvest time, and, leaving a margin of ten or fifteen per cent. profit, agrees to purchase the crops at certain prices fixed between them. This contract is generally entered into four or five months before harvest time. If prices fluctuate meanwhile, either the Sāvkar or the cultivator loses, but the former is generally the gainer by this transaction. If the cultivator fails to make over the grain at the allotted time, according to one of the terms of the contract, he has to give the Sāvkar, in the year following, twenty-five or fifty per cent. over and above the quantity of grain originally agreed upon.

Savari.—The cultivator raises a loan, promising to repay it within a year, by two instalments, the first falling due on the kharif, and the second on the rabi harvest. The bond is executed for a sum of twenty-five per cent. over and above the amount actually paid; this is equivalent to a rate of about two per cent interest per mensem. Besides this, when paying the cash down, the Sāvkar deducts two per cent. as *munnoti*. One of the terms of the agreement is, that if the amount of the bond is not repaid within the time specified, interest at the rate of about one or two per cent. per mensem is to run on until such time as the loan is repaid.

It may be mentioned here, that in bonds of this sort the cultivator mortgages to the Sāvkar the produce of his field, his cattle and house. Sometimes the fields themselves are mortgaged. It need not be stated that the property so mortgaged remains in possession of the owner the Sāvkar merely keeping an eye on him to see that he does not dispose of it in any way.

Besides loans in cash, some of the cultivators take loans in seed-grain, on condition that it is to be returned at harvest with fifty per cent. over and above the quantity lent; but if the loan is contracted at a time when prices are high, the quantity is doubled. In transactions of this nature, written agreements are seldom entered into, the cultivator considering it a religious debt, which he is anxious to pay at the first opportunity. Hence, suits for transactions of this nature seldom or never come into Civil Courts.

When the cultivator raises a loan in grain for home consumption, he has it on condition of returning the loan at twenty-five or fifty, and in seasons of scarcity, at one hundred per cent. over and above the quantity lent. A bond is generally passed for this loan. The borrower does not carry away from the Sāvkar the whole amount of the grain at once, but receives it in such quantities as may be required. If unable to return the loan at the time agreed upon, the debtor is allowed to repay it at next harvest, with fifty per cent. over and above the total quantity due.

When the cultivator breaks down, and is unable for a period of four or five years to repay his Sāvkar's debts, his accounts are made up, and a settlement is generally effected in this way: the cultivator enters into an agreement, by

How bad debt are recovered.

which he binds himself to till, for a certain number of years, certain portion of his holding, and, after sowing it at his own cost, to make over the field to the Sāvkar, who takes charge of it, and reaps the crops when they are ready. And so, at a small cost, the Sāvkar gets a part of the produce of the cultivator's fields, and is thus enabled to recover what would have been a bad debt.

It will be seen that the system bears a very close resemblance to that prevailing in—say—Behar.

The average revenue assessment of the district appears to be 14 annas 4 pie per acre on dry crop, and Rs. 5-8-1 on garden land.

Archæological Notes on Ancient Sculpturings on Rocks in Kumaon, India, similar to those found on Monoliths and Rocks in Europe, with other Papers. Prehistoric Remains in Central India. Rough Notes on the Snake Symbol in India, in connection with the Worship of Siva.

Descriptions of some stone Carvings, collected in a Tour through the Douh, from Cawnpore to Manipore. By J. H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., Bengal Civil Service, C.I.E., F.U.B., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., F.G.S., etc.

THIS interesting series of papers by Mr. Rivett-Carnac, reprinted from the journal of the Asiatic Society, form collectively no mean contribution to Indian Archæological literature.

The first on the list is occupied with a discussion on the forms, relations and import of the cup, ring and other markings found by the writer on the rocks of Kumaon, and shown by him to be similar in character to the marks found on the stone circles and monoliths of Northern Europe. Some of the more elaborate forms of marks Mr. Rivett-Carnac is disposed to connect with *lingum* worship. The meaning of the simple cup marks, variously arranged in groups, and frequently in rows, is undecided, though there can be no reasonable doubt, we think, that they had a meaning.

The subject of these marks again crops up in the second paper on the list, in connexion with the barrows discovered in Central India and other parts of the Peninsula, the marks frequently being found sculptured on the stones by which the barrows are surrounded, and Mr. Rivett-Carnac suggests that they may be either a form of writing, or a means of denoting the age of the deceased, or the number of his children, or the enemies slain by him. We ourselves incline to the view that they are numerical records of some kind. The fact of their being so generally found in connexion with tumuli suggests the question whether those on the rocks also may not refer to burials in the neighbourhood, advantage having been taken of rocks *in situ* to dispense with the necessity

of placing blocks about the graves themselves. It might perhaps be worth while to examine the localities where such marks occur in the rocks, with a view to ascertaining whether ancient graves do not exist in their neighbourhood.

In connexion with the barrows Mr. Rivett-Carnac establishes four points, *viz.*, that (I) the shape of the tumuli in India and in Europe is the same.

(II) The barrows in India and in Europe always face towards the south.

(III) The remains found in the Indian barrows resemble almost exactly the remains dug out of similar burial-places in Europe.

(IV) The cup-marks on the boulders which surround the Indian tombs are identical with the marks found on the stones placed around the same class of tumuli in Europe.

Engravings are given of the principal objects found in the barrows near Junapani in the Nagpur District, the greater number of which are of iron, thus, assuming the remains to be pre-Aryan, as tradition, as well as comparison seems to imply, showing the extreme antiquity of the use of that metal in India. In the paper on the Snake Symbol, Mr. Rivett-Carnac contends strongly for regarding the snake (the *nág*, or cobra) as a phallic symbol; and the forms in which it is repeatedly found, as well as the representations associated with it, lend strong support to this view. We hesitate, however, to accept Mr. Rivett-Carnac's view that the *nág* is intended to serve as a form of the *linga* itself. Rather we regard it as the symbol of life, in which aspect its significance, when associated with the combined *linga* and *yoní*, encircling the former and terminating with its caudal portion lying along the groove of the latter, is obvious. Here, again, Mr. Rivett-Carnac points to the close resemblance between the markings on the menhirs and monoliths of Europe and the well-known Mahadeo symbols, and finds in it proof of the ancient prevalence of phallic worship even in places so remote from India as Brittany and Scotland.

Missionary Life among the Villages in India. By Rev. T. J. Scott, D.D., Twelve years Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India. Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden. New York: Nelson and Phillips. 1876.

These pages contain an account of missionary life, as experienced by Mr. Scott among the villages, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Budaon and Bareilly, embodied in the form of a diary. Graphically written, they contain much of interest, though marred by a tone of intolerance and contempt for the unconverted

native which renders them at times somewhat unpleasant reading. If Mr. Scott works in the spirit in which he writes, we are afraid he is likely to do quite as much harm as good to the cause in which he is engaged. Not to be a Christian is in his eyes to be "vile," and he makes no attempt to conceal the feeling. Viewing a village "situated on an elevated bluff, and the green wheat fields, stretching away below" him, "with their groves and winding river, in the calm, delightful evening," he cannot help thinking of the couplet of Heber,

"Though every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile."

For, as he goes on to record, "we seemed not to have the slightest access to the hearts of our hearers, and their vileness was even more manifest when they utterly refused to assist us with a pony over the river. This was outrageously uncivil on their part to us as strangers. Almost any other white man in the country than a missionary would have taught them good manners and civility with a heavy boot or cane; but our weapons are not carnal, and when we cannot persuade men, we must shift for ourselves."

The ill-success of spiritual inducements seems sometimes to have led Mr. Scott into holding out to his hearers temptations of a more tangible, if also a more questionable, nature. At one village, for instance, he stopped at a rude sugar manufactory. "They were pressing out the juice and boiling it down into a kind of damp, compact sugar. I spoke to the workmen of the facilities and extensive scale on which sugar is made in America. To them it seemed fabulous. I then insisted that when they become Christians and cast off their thoughts and works of darkness, they, too, will make sugar and other things on such a scale."

It is, perhaps, scarcely to be wondered at that "some smiled at such a result of accepting a new faith."

In another village, "a number of villagers came together, and among them a loquacious, broken down, old zemindar, who displayed a frightful scar, from a wound received in the mutiny. Of course he paraded it as a memento of his loyalty in withstanding the rebels; but much more likely he got it in an attempt to pillage some weaker village in those days of anarchy."

One cannot help feeling that the "broken down, old zemindar" owed this uncharitable surmise to his ill-timed "loquacity."

In a third village, where there was a Muhammadan teacher, Mr. Scott could make no "satisfactory headway in trying to talk, so persistent were a number of impudent 'fellows of the baser sort' in thrusting impertinent questions on him." He was about to "quit," when "the teacher called for some coarse, brazen-faced

fellow in the crowd to reply to what" he "had said," etc. Ultimately he was hooted out of the village; but when he told the crowd that if "the English rulers" were informed of their conduct "they would get very severely punished," they desisted, and "the teacher, with one of the villagers, followed for some distance, and with an air of most abject submission, disavowed emphatically, all part in the uproar or any intention to be uncivil."

At Shikarpur about a hundred villagers gathered round the missionary; but "almost every statement" he "made, met with some frivolous objection or contradiction, and it was soon apparent that" his "audience were of the swine type."

At Ismaelganj "a large crowd assembled in the chaupal, where we read the Scriptures, and tried to instruct them in the way of life. Several rude fellows manifested an almost insufferable amount of impudence in asking impertinent, and even insulting questions, in such a way as to interrupt our talk. A silly attempt at ridiculing some doctrines was made. At last I thought that by singing a hymn, such as often had pleased the natives, I might arouse in them a better spirit; but to my confusion, when I had sung a verse and looked off the book, I found my hearers 'laughing in their sleeves' at the attempt. I laid down the book in despair, and began to tell them that they seemed lost not only to their want of salvation, but to all courtesy (on which every well-bred native prides himself), when the very fellow whom I had caught winking at the rest and laughing at my attempt at singing, impudently asked me to sing another song, affirming that I was a most excellent singer, accompanying his request with a sly, fun-making look at the crowd. It was manifest that our hearers were of the swine type, and that instruction would only be trampled under foot. I asked James to close the meeting with a word of friendly exhortation, which he did, telling our rude audience that their wickedness would lead them to hell, to which ready reply was made that it would be no improvement to become Christians, as there was Moses Peters (a native Christian living in the village), the greatest liar, rogue, and most licentious man in their midst. They were told that he was of a lawless character, not recognized by us as a Christian now at all. But making a good impression seemed a hopeless task, and we turned away. I felt heart-sick at the brazen hardness and self-satisfied blindness of these villagers, and went to my tent to pray for them and for grace to preach the Word in the spirit of Christ."

The most wonderful part of the whole matter to us is Mr. Scott's surprise at what he considers the hardness of heart of his hearers. We should have supposed that, however strong his own convictions might be, a very little intelligent reflection on the character of the

doctrines which he preaches, or of the evidence by which they are supported, would have been sufficient to show him that, bias of every kind aside, it would be in the highest degree unreasonable to expect honest conversions from casual harangues to unprepared villagers. Let him consider for a moment the difficulties felt by honest thinkers of his own faith, anxious to retain the belief in which they have been educated. Conversion at once sudden and sincere would presuppose either extreme credulity or miraculous interposition. But the credulity of Mr. Scott's hearers is precisely what weds them to their own faith, and we can hardly suppose that he hopes for miracles.

THE
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1880.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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ART. I.—GEORGE THOMAS.

AN EPISODE OF THE GREAT ANARCHY.

TOWARDS the end of the last century the once mighty empire of the Chaghtai Turks in India had become a complete ruin. The ship of State, whose braveries of silk and gold had shone so fair and far, now lay a wreck upon the water. It is difficult to find a parallel in history for the state of things that existed in 1789. At Dehli, contrary to all traditions, a blind Emperor sat upon the throne of Shahjahan. The Mahratta confederacy held sway from Puda to the walls of the Capital. The Capital itself was under a French Governor. The Savoyard, de Boigne, held his *quasi* Court at Aligarh; Begam Sombre had established an oasis of servile peace at Sardhana. Over this chaotic scene the figure of the great Moghul still turned; a crowned but sightless presence: "*toujours assis sur le trone; et tout se faisait en son nom*" (*de Boigne*.)

It was in this abnormal condition of public affairs, that George Thomas appeared upon the scene where he was soon to play so busy, if so barren, a part. A native of Rosscrea in Tipperary, he had come to Madras as Quartermaster of a ship in the fleet commanded by the dilatory Hughes; and he landed in the Presidency town in September 1782, when that Admiral called there after his four inconclusive engagements with the Bailli de Suffrein. Weary of a subordinate career under a commander who could not woo victory, Thomas deserted and passed some years in an obscure life of adventure among the Poligars of the Carnatic. Of these no record

remains. But in 1787 we find him in a post of honour in the small army of Sardhana, whither he had wandered, as it were, by chance. In the spring of the following year he accompanied the Begam in the expedition of the Emperor to the south-west; and took the initiative in the action before Gokulgarh already briefly described in my chapter on Sardhana. This brilliant affair deserves notice as the earliest in which the superiority of European skill and discipline was unmistakeably displayed to the people of India. The following details have been left on record by Colonel James Skinner, C. B., who stated that he derived them from Thomas himself.

The Emperor, in this final assertion of authority, had sat down with a large force before the fortified town of Gokulgarh, where he was defied by Najaf Kuli Khan, a converted Rājput, who had gone into rebellion. The officers of the Imperial pickets, having neglected to keep a due look out, had been surprised in the grey of the morning by a sortie of the garrison; and the garrison, profiting by the confusion, had supported their sortie by a general attack, before which the besieging line gave way. The pursued and their pursuers were streaming towards the centre of the camp; already the standard of the Empire and the sacred person before whose tent it floated were in risk of capture. There was not a moment to spare. As the *melée* passed the Begam's tents, she came forth in her litter, escorted by Thomas at the head of three battalions and a field-piece, manned by Europeans. Rapidly the Infantry were thrown across the way; they deployed into line with the greatest coolness, keeping the gun in the centre, loaded with grape shot. The whole line opened fire, the enemy withered, wavered and hung back. A Moghul leader cantered up with a body of cavalry, followed by the *Gosains*, or fighting Friars, of Himmatt Bahadur, and a frantic charge fell upon the late victorious garrison. They fought well, as the bodies of the Moghul leader, with many of his men and two hundred *Gosains*, remained upon the ground to avouch; but the Emperor was saved, the defence of the place failed; and the entire credit, or by far the greater portion of it, rested with the energetic Begam and her able Irish follower.

Clouds again fall upon the scene. Whether or no Thomas attained to any closer and dearer relations with the then beautiful *Châtelaine* of Sardhana, can only be guessed; he was young, tall, handsome, and spirited; and there was nothing in the lady's antecedents to forbid such a conjecture. At all events, from the date of the action of Gokulgarh (5th April 1788) to the latter part of the year 1792, we hear no more mention of George

Thomas, except that he continued in the Sardhana service. At the latter period the Begam had completely transferred her favour to a French officer, named Levassault *; and Thomas retired in disappointment and something like despair, proceeding to Anupshahr on the Gauges, where he became the guest of the officers of the British Frontier Force which was then maintained there in pursuance of a treaty of alliance with the Nawáb of Oudh, and which was commanded at that time by Brigadier MacGowan. The Begam shortly after married her new Commandant.

During his stay at Anupshahr Mr. Thomas presented himself to the nobility and gentry of the Upper Provinces as prepared to execute orders for reducing forts, cutting throats, or otherwise smoothing over administrative difficulties; and his services were, no long time after, accepted by a Mahratta adventurer, named Appu Khandi Rao, who had been dismissed by Sindhia from the charge of the Gwalior country and was now turning his attention to the establishment of power on his own account. This gentleman Thomas agreed to join, with his *khás resála* (a small body of cavalry, which men in his position always retained about their persons), and received instructions to raise one hundred more horse and one thousand foot, for whose maintenance he was to receive three *parganas* (Ang. "hundreds") in the neighbourhood of Alwar. It does not appear that these tracts belonged to the donor by whom they were so lavishly bestowed, nor, indeed, were they ever thoroughly appropriated by the donee. But it was probably enough, in the conventional morality of such times, to say to Z—"Go and get me the property of A, and you may take that of B for your pains." The country belonged, in one sense, to the Emperor, by whom it had been overrun (or to his representative the Minister, Mahdaji Sindhia); in another sense, it belonged to the Rao of Machari, to whom it had been assigned by the Imperial Government; finally, it might have been remembered that it was actually occupied by the Mewatis, a race of whom the memoirs of Thomas only condescend to take notice by saying that "when a large force was sent against them they usually took shelter in the mountains, but when the force was inferior in numbers, by uniting they proved victorious." By this contumacious course of conduct the Mewatis of these parts had "naturally" incurred the resentment of Khandi Rao, who availed himself of the resources of the Irishman to bring them to reason. Agreeing to "balance accounts every six months,"

* Skinner thought the name might form in the text is taken from the be Levaisseau or Levassor, but the French epithet at Sardhana.

and endowed with two bullock-guns and a stock of ammunition, George departed to kill the bear whose skin had been thus made over to him. On his way he received news of the death of Mahdaji Sindhia, and accompanied his employer to Dehli, where they appear to have passed some time in political intrigues.

By the time that all was ready for a fresh start, the year 1794 was far advanced ; and the rains of the monsoon had set in with some severity. The Mewatis resented Thomas' visit, and plundered his camp in the dark, wet nights ; but the new-comer was not a man to be trifled with. Regardless of the weather and of the obstinate valour of the Mewatis, which at one time left him with no more than a dozen followers, he extorted from them an agreement to pay up one year's land revenue, and obtained, for the time, possession of Jhajhar and Tijara, two important towns in their country. He was making active preparations to attack the neighbouring fort of Bahadurgarh, when he was suddenly recalled by news of an attack upon his rear by his old mistress, Begam Sombre. Not willing to risk his half-trained levies and ill-consolidated power in a present conflict with Levaissoult and his organised force, Thomas now retired on Tijara, a town fifty-five miles S.-W. of Dehli, where he remained till summoned by Khandi Rao, who was in durance from a mutiny of his troops. Profiting by the darkness of a rainy night, Thomas succeeded in withdrawing his master from this disagreeable position, and escorted him safely to Kanaund, a place of strength in the neighbourhood. On this occasion the Mahratta Chief adopted the Irish sailor as his son, augmenting his force, and endowing him with lands (always belonging to others) estimated to yield one hundred and fifty thousand Rupees a year. These lands, and others in the neighbourhood, were in no long time wrested from the usurping Appu and his follower by Sindhia ; and Thomas underwent the additional mortification of having to expose his life in realising the revenue for the new masters. In all things, however, he displayed unshaken fidelity to his immediate employer—the virtue of a Xenophon and a Hawkwood—without which no soldier of fortune can ever win more respect than is due to a successful buccaneer.

He was ill-rewarded by the half-crazy and wholly unprincipled Mahratta, who first of all tried to discharge his faithful servant on the false pretence of being desired to do so by Sindhia's General. On being applied to for an explanation, that officer replied that it was false that he had ever expressed such a desire to Appu Khandi, but at the same time he would be very glad to see Mr. Thomas enter the regular service, in which he offered him a high command. Thomas, however, thinking that he could do more

by remaining where he was, declined the offer; and both his subsequent success and his ultimate fall will be seen to be traceable to this, which forms therefore the crisis of his life, and which must be placed about the beginning of 1795.

During that year another and a more romantic episode took place, which, however, proved to have little or no influence upon the fortunes of Thomas; and which need therefore be but briefly referred to here. It has, moreover, been already described elsewhere.*

It will be remembered that Thomas' successful rival at Sardhana (whose name from the epitaph we have written Levas-soult) had disturbed Thomas by a demonstration during the preceding autumn: He now made a direct attack upon Jhajhar, with a force consisting of four battalions of well-trained infantry with twenty pieces of artillery, supported by a strong body of cavalry and led by officers of European extraction. To meet this storm Thomas mustered his best following, but it amounted to little more than half the number in foot and artillery; and we do not hear of his having at that time any Christian Subalterns.

But the cloud vanished with even more rapidity than it had taken to form. Led by a discontented Belgian officer, nicknamed Liégeois † from his birth-place, the Sardhana troops mutinied, and Levas-soult had to hurry home and concert measures for his own safety and that of the Begam. How the British Government offered them an asylum; how the mutineers foolishly, and from a blind lust of lucre, impeded their departure; how Levas-soult gallantly tried to bear off his wife and benefactress, and, failing in that attempt, sacrificed himself under a mistaken belief that she was dead; all this has been already told. Thomas heard of the revolution by letter. The chivalrous nature of the British Tar was deeply roused by the troubles of his ungrateful mistress. No sooner did he hear of the death of her husband and her own captivity than he wrote to Liégeois, remonstrating strongly on the folly and villainy that had been displayed, and followed up his letter by appearing at Sardhana at the head of his body-guard. The mutineers were at first inclined to punish the rash appearance of so small a force of intruders; but the heroism of the adventure was not unsupported by prudence. While the parley was taking place and there were signs of its assuming a menacing turn, a body of infantry, which had fol-

* V. Art. on Sardhana.

† His descendants are to be found as poor Native Christians at Sar-

dhana, the name being corrupted to Lezwah.

lowed Thomas at top-speed, drew near; and the ringleader of the mutineers, not knowing how many more might be at hand, or how far their own officers and comrades might be secret sympathisers with the strangers, hastened to restore the Begam to freedom and authority. Few details of this counter-revolution are available; but it is probable that the councils of the Sardhana force had been weakened by Thomas' letter, and by more solid arguments yet; for he used to say that he had spent two lakhs of Rupees in the negotiations that were found necessary.

Meanwhile, Appu Khandi engaged in a series of intrigues against his employé which were as unsuccessful as they were unprovoked, and which, ending, as they did, in the suicide of the Mahratta, may be taken to indicate that his intellect was disordered. Sometimes it was an attempt to arrest Thomas in Durbar, frustrated by the presence of mind of the victim, and perhaps by unwillingness on the part of intended agents who sympathised with their gallant comrade and against their suspicious Chief. At other times Thomas found himself attacked by enemies whom he had not provoked and whom he had to chastise in open warfare. Before the end of the year 1795, Appu Khandi made complete apologies and persuaded Thomas to cross the Jumna northward and attack the Sikhs, against which warlike people he was successful and cured them for some time of their propensity to invade the upper Duáb of Hindustan.

Englishmen of the present day know the fighting value of Sikhs, both as enemies and friends. But in Thomas' day, before they had been organised by Ranjít Singh and taught infantry drill by the veterans of Buonaparte, they do not seem to have been considered more formidable than any other collection of armed peasants. But ever since the days of Aurangzeb's successor, the mild Bahadur Shah, they had been in the habit of invading the country between the capital and what are now called "The Hills north of Dehra." This tract, the upper portion of which was known as the *Baoni*, or "Fifty-two pergunnahs," had been the fief of Najib-ud-Dowlah when that adventurer ruled the affairs of the dwindled Empire; and, after his death, had been occupied by his son and grandson. After the horrible crime, and equally horrible punishment, of the latter (Gholam Quadir Khan)* these lands had been held by the Mahrattas, but had been sorely wasted by the followers of the Guru from the Punjab.

On the occasion of the present invasion of the Baoni by the Sikhs, Appu thought proper to send a force against them under

* V. Keene's *Fall of the Moghal Empire*. Bk. II., Ch. vi.

Thomas. The intruders had reached Saharanpur, and had already cut to pieces the local troops, when it struck the Mahratta Ucalegon that his own possessions might be the next to suffer. Thomas accordingly marched straight upon Saharanpur. But the Sikhs, who had formerly seen (to use the adventure's own words) "a sample of my method of fighting," did not wait to be attacked, but took temporary refuge in the fortified town of Jelálábád, in what is now the District of Muzafarnagar.

Thomas was now a marked man; and the Mahratta leader in those parts, the well-known Lakwa Dáda, obtained Appu's permission to employ him to raise and train a considerable body of horse and foot, assigning him the District of Pánipat as a fund for their support. Thus strengthened, Thomas took Shamli and Lakhnaoti, and drove the Sikhs back to their own country, expressing the opinion (which time, we must admit, has not confirmed) that they would never unite, or again become formidable to their neighbours. Thomas was not aware of the abilities of him who was then but a minor chief of unripe years; but the facts of the subsequent progress of the Sikh nation under Ranjit Singh may help to illustrate the difficulty of making accurate forecasts as to the future of any Asiatic community.

Two days before the reduction of Shamli, Thomas received a letter from his employer, in which he was informed that Appu Khandi, weary of an incurable disorder from which he had for some time been suffering, was about to commit suicide by plunging into the sacramental waters of the Holy Ganges. If the son wished to see the father again he must hasten to headquarters. So wrote Appu; but Thomas was too busy to attend; and when leisure came, the moment had passed. Thomas got to camp to find that all was over; the grim purpose had been effected, and one Wávan Rao, nephew of the deceased, had assumed the state and power that should, by Hindu Law, have been Thomas', if only Thomas had been a Hindu! This second critical event in our hero's fortunes seems to have occurred somewhere in 1797, and proved the starting point of a new, a brief, but by no means an inglorious, career.

Up to this time Thomas had not suffered much molestation from what was then the paramount Power, *viz.*, the Dehli Empire, swayed by Sindhia—old Mahdaji had been generally employed in other directions; and his Lieutenant in Upper India—General de Boigne—was a wise and accomplished statesman, not jealous of the British, nor prone to useless interference with unoffending persons. But the new Sindhia—Daulat Rao—was a far less competent Ruler, and in 1796 he lost the services of de Boigne, who retired

from his service and was succeeded by a Frenchman, named Perron, a man of humble origin* and defective education.

Not only was Perron by birth and character disposed to jealousy, but there is reason to believe that he was already entangling himself in the far spreading meshes of the Napoleonic scheme. So far back as 1791 Tippu, the Sultan of Seringapatam, had sent an embassy to France, inviting the king of that country to join him in an attack upon British India. Poor Louis XVI, then in the last throes of his vain struggle with the Revolution, rejected the proposal with scorn, saying ; "This is the American affair over again. I was young then and easily deceived, my present sufferings are the result of that error." The Nizam had a large force under French officers, and their regimental button, at the time we have reached, bore the device of the Cap of Liberty. Buonaparte was already aspiring to power, and had sailed for Egypt in 1798. In the same year Malartic, the Governor of Mauritius, issued a proclamation calling for volunteers for India ; and he followed up this measure by sending off a frigate to that country, on board of which were about a hundred Frenchmen, who landed at Mangalore. Proceeding to Seringapatam they proclaimed the Republic, and constituted a Jacobin Club, of which they made the Sultan a member, under the style of "Citizen Tippu." In July of the same year the French occupied Alexandria. There is no reason to doubt that Perron, if not actually engaged, watched these events with eager sympathy ; and he must have found any stimulus that was needed for his jealousy of Thomas in the thought that the bold adventurer had been a British sailor and might be a pioneer of British conquest.

This is Skinner's report ; and Skinner was in Perron's *corps d'armée* at the time.

"General Perron had now succeeded in bringing all Hindustan under subjection ; and every Raja and Suba, from the Narbada to the Sutlaj, regarded him as lord and master. He had now under his command four regular brigades of 8,000 effective men each, and 10,000 regular Hindustani horse, besides the command of all the troops of every raja and chief in that wide territory ... Upon the lowest calculation, he drew about Rs. 60,000 per month ; and so puffed up was he with his titles and power that he allowed himself to be persuaded to send an ambassador to Buonaparte. M. Descartes was the person despatched."

Thomas at first co-operated with this mighty French poten-

* Like Thomas, Perron had served said, of ship's carpenter, in the Navy, in the capacity, it is

tate ; and, after expelling the Sikhs from the Doab, attacked them on the other side of the Jumna, apparently in concert with Perron's forces, who were completing the pacification of Saharanpur and that neighbourhood on the side of Hindustan.

But this appearance of union only lasted while the Afghans were menacing Lahore under Zamán Shah, the grandson of the famous Abdáli. And when the common peril disappeared towards the end of 1798, Sindhia's troops began to threaten Thomas with serious attacks. Defeating them in several encounters, but unable, in the face of their opposition, to raise sufficient revenue to pay his men, Thomas now found himself compelled to take to open plunder as a means of maintenance for his troops and himself. Fixing his head-quarters at Jhajhar once more, he broke new ground by attacking the territories of the Maharajah of Jaipur, with whom he had not the slightest pretence of quarrel. Sitting down before a fortified town near Kanaund, called Haricho, he demanded of the Governor a ransom of a lakh of rupees ; and, when this was refused, took the town by assault and prepared to storm the fort, which thereupon capitulated, and half the sum demanded at first was accepted. Unfortunately, while these negotiations were going on, the town had been accidentally set on fire, and a great deal of property was consumed. After some further depredations in the Jaipur territory, Thomas returned to Jhajhar and began seriously to consider his plans for the future. He had now been sixteen years in India, and the goal seemed no nearer. Indeed, since he had entered Begam Samru's service his position had begun to deteriorate. Then he had been a respectable military adventurer of the type (in a humble way) of Marshal Keith in Prussia. Now he was little more than a glorified gang-robber ; and might look to be treated as one if he should ever be forced to succumb to Perron's hostility. Turning such considerations over in his mind, Thomas formed the bold and original project of establishing himself as an independent ruler in an adjacent country which lay unclaimed at his very door, and which possessed a variety of resources to tempt the ambition of a needy soldier.

Hariána ("Greenland") on the N.-W. of what was then Thomas' country, was a tract of over three thousand square miles, separating the Cis-Sutlaj seats of the Sikhs from the Great Bikaner desert. A compact district, containing many towns and villages, abounding in wells, and permeated by two ancient canals, it had once been rich and fertile, and had obtained its name from the residents of the more arid tracts by which it was surrounded. To the North, moreover, the Cagar, a branch of the once famous Saraswati, deposited alluvial soil yearly. So that

throughout Hariána the pasturage was good ; while the cattle were famous, and the habits of the people hardy, though not without some of the lawlessness which (except in poetry) too often characterises pastoral races.

Midmost in Hariána stands a small eminence on which in the middle ages one of the Pathan Emperors had built a hunting-lodge. The hill had since been occupied by a walled town, with a citadel. From the evidence of the Jesuit traveller, Father Tiefenthaler, it seems to have gone to decay in the last century. The water-supply had failed, so that only a rain-crop could be raised year by year, the fort was in ruins, and the town was a collection of mud huts.

But the situation of the place pleased Thomas ; and he resolved to make it his capital and place of arms. "Here," he told Francklin, "I established my capital, rebuilt the walls long since decayed, and repaired the fortifications. As it had been long deserted, at first I found difficulty in providing inhabitants ; but by degrees I selected between five and six thousand persons to whom I allowed every lawful indulgence. I established a mint and coined my own rupees, which I made current in my army and country ; as from the commencement of my career at Jhajhar, I had resolved to establish an independency, I employed workmen and artificers of all kinds ; ... I cast my own artillery, commenced making muskets, matchlocks and powder, and in short, made the best preparations for carrying on an offensive and defensive war."

His ambition combined with his prudence to turn his attention from Hindustan towards the Punjab, then occupied by discordant clans of Sikhs. "I wished to put myself in a capacity ... of attempting the conquest of the Punjab, and aspired to the honor of planting the British standard on the banks of the Attock." The completion of this design by other hands took place 50 years later, and cost much valiant blood.

Thomas was not only a good but a considerate organiser of human affairs. He paid his men well ; and he set apart out of his yearly revenues a fund yielding Rs. 40,000 per annum for pensions to the families of men killed in his service ; each family received half the pay, whatever it was, that had been drawn by the deceased ; and payments were made with punctuality.

His first operations on his intended principality, however, were unpropitious ; for he was met at Kaulhori by such a spirited resistance from the inhabitants that he had to retreat with the loss of three hundred men ; with his usual tenacity, however, he resumed the attack when the monsoon was over, and was just ready to take it by storm when the garrison, following the common Eastern policy on such occasions, slipped out in the darkness of the night.

The fall of Kanhori had the effect of preventing all further resistance, and by the beginning of 1799 the sailor Raja had established his authority through a great part of Hariána.

Nothing presents the contrast of West and East in more startling opposition. Here was a vagrant who, in the dominions of his native sovereign, would have sat in the stocks or been glad to earn an occasional half-crown, but bearing rule in the land of *Máhábharatá* and contemplating a conquest from which Alexander the Great had shrunk.

Thomas, indeed, held a considerable position. Besides his former acquisitions, the revenues of which sufficed for the maintenance of his military establishments and workshops, he derived from his new possessions the revenues of two hundred and fifty townships, formerly rated at nearly one-sixth of a million sterling, though at that time much decayed. His military force at the outset consisted of three battalions of foot, each commanded by a European (or Eurasian) officer, with fourteen guns and a small body of Rohilla horse. With this contingent he joined Wávan Rao, nephew and successor to his former employer, Appù Khándi, in a fresh attack upon the territories of Jaipur ; acting, however, rather as an ally than as a dependent, and stipulating for a handsome retainer in hard cash. After some temporary successes the invaders were startled by news that the Maharaja was marching to chastise them, at the head of forty thousand Rajput troops. The pusillanimous Mahratta was for an immediate retreat ; but Thomas by spirited remonstrances persuaded him to remain, and they encamped before the walled town of Fatihpur, on the western side of the Jaipur country. Here they demand a ransom of ten lakhs, which being refused, the town was stormed, and Thomas, unable to entrench by reason of the sandy soil, made a camp, protected in rear by the town walls and in front by strong *abattis*, produced by interlacing the boughs of thorny acacia trees felled for the purpose. Scarcely had this camp been provisioned and the batteries mounted when the heads of the enemy's columns appeared in sight.

On the third day Thomas was completely successful in a sortie. In this, with two of his battalions and a small force of cavalry, supported by eight guns, he repulsed 7,000 of the Rajputs, who were endeavouring to seize the wells, always an object of anxiety in those thirsty tracts. Undeterred by this omen, and confident in their numbers, the main body of the enemy advanced early next morning ; and Thomas, leaving a detail to guard his camp, moved out the rest of his small force, almost without support from the disheartened Mahrattas. The result is an encouragement, for all time, to good soldiers that they should never despair because outnumbered in oriental warfare.

The enemy advanced in three divisions, one to attack the camp, one to occupy the city, and the third to deal, as they thought, with Thomas. This last party consisted of ten regular battalions, with twenty-two field-pieces, and the musketeers, or matchlockmen of the Rajah's body-guard, the whole under the command of the General-in-Chief. To oppose this large force, Thomas had at first nearly two thousand men, but was obliged to diminish still more that small force by the exigencies of the day. With his remaining men he took post on a sand-hill, where he was vigorously attacked by a strong body of cavalry, at the same time that the city was attacked by another column and six guns. After dispersing the assault upon himself, Thomas briskly charged the enormous body who were threatening the city. The small garrison there placed put the enemy between two fires; his vast multitude was thrown into confusion, broke and fled. After some delay Thomas succeeded in persuading the horsemen of his Mahratta ally to pursue the fugitive Rajputs, and then applied himself to the removal of two twenty-four-pounder guns which had been in position on the sand-hill, and which the retreating enemy had left there. But such were the overwhelming numbers of the Rajputs that, even after this defeat as above described, enough force was left to form a cavalry charge for the purpose of rescuing the guns. And this they did, although Thomas succeeded in bringing off his men, with some loss, and without the twenty-four-pounders. In this action Thomas lost 300 men and a European officer; having with less than two thousand troops beaten off above 30,000 of the enemy, and inflicted on them a loss of 2,000 men. Excepting in a feeble pursuit his Mahratta allies had rendered no assistance; and one can hardly wonder at their supineness, when we think of the odds, and the influence such things have with Asiatics.

This was the most important action of the brief campaign, from which Wávan Rao and his follower retired, after undergoing great sufferings from the heat and the scarcity of water. Soon after his return, however, instead of going into cantonments to recruit, the indefatigable Thomas set off on a fresh expedition, and into a still more arid region. The Rajah of Bhikauer, a sandy tract to the West of Háriana, had co-operated—however feebly—with his brother of Jaipur during the late hostilities; and our adventurer judged it prudent to make an example of Bhikauer without delay.

It was now near midsummer of 1799; the monsoon was at hand, when the periodical rains would soon favour campaigning in the desert; but Thomas resolved to leave nothing to chance. Warned by the distress on account of water which had lately befallen his men, he resolved to carry with him a large store of

that indispensable article, carried in goat-skins; and, thus provided, he attacked the first of the Rajah's towns that he came upon, and soon extracted from his neighbour an indemnity with which he was content to retire. But not to repose. His next operations were against the Cis-Sutlaj Sikhs; and, after striking them several heavy blows, he found himself invited by Ambaji Ainglia, one of Sindhia's Lieutenants, to join him in an attack on the Rajah of Udaipur, who had espoused the cause of a refractory Mahratta General, the celebrated Lakwa Dáda. This campaign, which was attended by the success that usually marked our adventurer's proceedings, is chiefly to be noticed for two threatening symptoms. Thomas' men for the first time displayed insubordination, and the Mahratta government at head-quarters showed symptoms of increasing desire to control his actions.

Equally prompt in asserting his own authority and in submitting to that of the Chief whom he might, for the time, be serving, Thomas suppressed the mutiny of his men by active, finally, indeed severe, proceedings; and when Sindhia (moved probably by Perron), ordered him to leave Ambaji and make peace with Lakwa, he replied that he could take orders from Ambaji alone. Whatever be thought of the prudence of all this, it is impossible not to admire the moral qualities displayed by this solitary European on that occasion. But it is probable that the circumstances combined to prepare a catastrophe of which as yet there were but few premonitory signs.

At the end of 1799, Thomas again retired to Hání; but, before the winter was over, set off Northward for a fresh campaign, which lasted seven months, and in which, says Thomas, "I had been more successful than I could possibly expect when I first took the field with a force of 5,000 men and thirty-six pieces of cannon. I lost in killed, wounded and disabled, nearly one-third of my men, but the enemy lost 5,000 of all descriptions. I realised nearly 200,000 rupees (two lakhs) exclusive of the pay of my army, and was to receive an additional lakh for the hostages which were given up." These successes were obtained, chiefly, at the expense of the Sikhs of Patiala and the neighbourhood; and they left Thomas, as he says, "Dictator in all the countries** south of the river Sutlaj."

Thomas was now at the zenith of his glory; and it is possible that, had his prudence and diplomatic ability equalled his other gifts, he might have altered the whole current of subsequent Indian History. At the beginning of 1800 Perron was in disfavour, and Sindhia was being pressed by English influences; while Holkar was threatening him with a serious rivalry, and his own attention was being greatly distressed by Deccan politics. If Thomas could

have cemented effectual alliances with Holkar, with Lakwa Dáda, and with Begam Sombre, and if the British authorities could have seen their way a little clearer, there seems reason to suppose that he might have obtained possession of the capital and the Emperor's person; and, having done so, he might have subverted Perron; and the whole of Upper India, brought thus under indirect British influence, might have remained independent for another generation, perhaps, ultimately, to give the British as much trouble as has since been caused by Cabul.

But it was not so to be. Holkar and the Begam proved useless. Lakwa retreated—to die at Jaudhpore—the British hung back. At the time of which we are now speaking, the timid policy of Sir John Shore was being pretty generally reversed by Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley. But for the present active operations were chiefly confined to the Deccan. Thomas opened a correspondence, through a Captain E. V. White, in which he offered his services in any measures which the Calcutta government might purpose; he would advance, he said, if desired; occupy the Punjab, and place himself and his forces under the control of the British Commander-in-Chief. By this plan, he wrote, “I have nothing in view but the welfare of my King and country. I shall be sorry to see my conquests fall to the Mahrattas. I wish to give them to my King, and to serve him for the remainder of my days, and this I can only do so as a soldier in this part of the world.”

But the plans of the Calcutta government were not ripe; and their rejection of Thomas prepared for them the deaths of many brave soldiers and officers, and laborious campaigns that lasted nearly five years. The best evidence that Thomas had it in his power to do what he proposed, is to be found, not alone in his own undertakings, but in the testimony of an intelligent European contemporary. It was the opinion of Major Lewis Ferdinand Smith, an English officer, then serving under Perron, that Thomas might at this period have done all that has been above sketched as possible; for the substitution of Thomas for Perron as Generalissimo of the Mahrattas (which Smith declares was then possible) would have rallied to the British side all those officers, British, or of British extraction, who were, on the subsequent breaking out of war, either dismissed or massacred. Buonaparte had left Egypt in the pursuit of his personal aims; Abercromby and Hutchinson were beginning their victorious operations in that country; the invasion of India by the Russians had collapsed, and their crazy originator, the Czar Paul, was on the eve of his own fatal crisis. For the present, however, French influence was still paramount in Upper India.

Early in 1801, Thomas augmented his forces, which now con-

sisted of ten battalions of disciplined infantry, 1,000 cavalry and sixty pieces of artillery. With this force* he made a fresh start for the northward, crossing the Sutlaj in the face of the Sikh army, and advancing rapidly upon Lahore. When he had arrived within four marches of that city, he was startled by intelligence that Perron had invaded Hariána, and he felt it necessary to return with all speed for the protection of his own more ancient possessions. By marches of thirty and forty miles, beating off the Sikh horse who menaced his retreat, he reached Hánsi. The swiftness of this movement disappointed Perron, who retired upon Dehli, only to advance once more with augmented strength. This was in August 1801, and the rival Europeans approached each other at Bahádurgarh, about fifteen miles west of Dehli.

It was determined to try negotiation: and L. F. Smith was deputed to wait upon Thomas in his own camp and conduct him to the Mahratta lines for the purpose of a personal interview with General Perron. We have no details of the meeting; but in Thomas' memoirs we find a record of the feelings which inspired one, at least, of the rivals. Thomas says plainly that "Mr. Perron and himself being subjects of two nations then in a state of hostility against each other, it was impossible that they should act in concert . . . he was convinced, moreover, that as a Frenchman, Mr. Perron would always be prepared to misrepresent his actions. He was willing, he told Sindhia about this time, to take part in the management of operations anywhere; under the control of any native General. When he at length agreed to go to Perron's camp, he went escorted by a strong force, and prepared "to observe the greatest circumspection in the interview."

The first meeting was probably formal and not unfriendly. Next day they met a second time; and an immediate rupture apparently took place. Perron's terms were these: Thomas was required to surrender at once the lands of Jhajhar, to enter the service as a general officer on a fixed monthly salary, and to detach immediately four battalions to assist Sindhia against Holkar, who had just driven the army of Sindhia before him and taken his city of Ujain. The spirit of Thomas would not brook these terms, specious as they appeared; he was in friendly communication with Holkar; he suspected Sindhia of treachery; he was determined not to serve under Perron. He accordingly, to use the language of the *Memoirs*, "without further discussion abruptly broke up the conference and marched away in disgust."

He retired to Hánsi, while Perron returned to his own head-

* There were also some irregular strong places. troops, left in garrison in his various

quarters at Aligarh, leaving the campaign to be conducted by an officer of his own nation, Major Louis Bernard Bourquien, the same who, a little more than a year and a half later, came to utter grief against Lake on the plain before Dehli.

Thomas had thrown a garrison into his fort of Georgegarh (near Jhajhar which Perron had occupied) and the Fort was commanded by one of Thomas' officers, named Shatáb Khán. This gentleman's family being at Aligarh, Perron was able to put considerable pressure on him, and he was gradually brought over to betray his master. Another diplomatic move was made by raising the Cis-Sutlej Sikhs who had, it must be confessed, serious scores to settle with Thomas. Begam Sombre was called upon for the aid of a contingent, which she sent; reinforcements were also ordered up from Colonel Hessing, the Governor of Agra. Surrounded by this ring of fire, our adventurer was being brought to bay. Like Napoleon I. in 1813, he found in the desperate situation a scene for the display of useless vigour and the acquirement of barren honour at the expense of his men; like the same mighty warrior, he ultimately succumbed, rather to the weariness and faithlessness of his own people than to the skill of his numerous enemies.

The first thing, apparently, that he did, after sending word to Holkar to beg him to come to his aid; was to march northward, as a feint to draw off the attention of the enemy from his magazines, &c., at Hânsi. This is not referred to in the *Memoirs*, but Skinner says that, after leaving Smith's brother with a detachment to watch Georgegarh, he (Skinner) marched with the bulk of the army "towards Jhind in pursuit of Thomas." Successful in this first move, the adventurer now doubled back with incredible rapidity, shot past the enemy unperceived, reached Georgegarh by marching seventy miles in two days, and forced Smith to fly with a loss of seven hundred men, and a quantity of arms, baggage and ammunition. This was about the 25th of September; on the 20th Bourquien's cavalry reached Biri, a village near Georgegarh, and at once made a reconnoissance of Thomas' camp. They found it skilfully pitched, with a village on the left, the Fort on the right, and the front defended by a line of sand-heaps, probably artificial. The rear was also partly protected by another village.

On the afternoon of the 29th Bourquien came up with his infantry, and, without affording them time to rest, immediately ordered an attack, supported by the fire of thirty-five guns. But the shot fell into the sand; the wearied infantry could make but little impression on Thomas; twenty-five of Bourquien's tumbrils were exploded by shot from Thomas' batteries. Then two battalions under Hopkins came out of the lines, delivered a volley "as if they had been at a review," and charged Bourquien's left with

such vigour that this part of the army gave way in utter confusion. Night separated the combatants; in the morning a truce was made, and it was found that, out of 8,000 men, the assailants had lost half in killed and wounded, together with four European officers. Thomas' losses were much less, seven hundred men, according to his own account; but he had twenty guns dismounted by the breaking of their carriages owing to the recoil in the sand, where they stood half-buried. His greatest loss was that of Captain Hopkins, one of his very small staff of Europeans, whose leg was broken by a round shot during the last charge, and who died of his hurt a few days later. This "gallant youth," as Thomas calls him, was the son of a British officer, who had left him to make his way in the world, encumbered with the charge of an unmarried sister. Thomas, in this hour of his own distress, found means to send Miss Hopkins two thousand Rupees for her present necessities, with a promise of more if more should be required.

Thomas was now falling fast. Shatáb Khán, the traitorous commandant of the Fort, fired all the fodder. Base enemies gathered round, like vultures about a dying tiger. Skinner thinks that his mind also gave way, and that he took to drinking and left all the work to be done by Hearsey, one of his lieutenants. However this may be, he remained inactive for a month, hoping, it is thought, that help might come from Holkar and from his old foe, Lakwa Dáda, with whom he had opened a correspondence. But men, like Heaven in the French proverb, help those only who can help themselves; and from neither quarter was help forthcoming now. At last, having neither forage for the cattle nor food for the men, with treachery undermining his resources, desertion thinning his ranks, the whole country side against him, and overwhelming numbers hemming him in, Thomas conceived the enterprise of cutting his way through his enemies and throwing himself into Hánsi, there to make a final stand.

Accordingly, at 9 o'clock on the evening of the 10th November, accompanied by his two remaining Christian officers, Hearsey and Birch, and escorted by his body-guard, Thomas left his lines, mounted upon a fine Persian horse. Soon after leaving camp the fugitives were attacked by a party of the enemy; but they beat them off; and making a considerable circuit reached Hánsi next day. It is pleasant to know that the noble animal who carried his master 120 miles in 24 hours, was ultimately provided for, and ended his days in the stable of Sir F. Hamilton, Bart., at that time resident at Benares. The soldiers left in camp, laid down their arms with loud lamentations; and, refusing to serve another leader, dispersed to their own homes by permission of the victors.

Arrived at his capital, Thomas prepared for its defence; and during the next ten days cast guns and improved his fortifications. On the 21st the siege began, during which many conflicts took place under the walls and in the streets. In these operations, the enemy suffered severe loss. Among the slain was Captain Bernier* of the Sardhana service, who had been one of the witnesses to the Begam's marriage with Levaissoult a few years before. The town having been taken, Thomas was left, in an imperfectly victualled fort, with only 1,700 men; and of these some had been corrupted by Bourquien, who shot into their lines arrows to which were attached written promises of reward if they would deliver up their master.

At day-break on 3rd of December a general attack was delivered by three strong columns. Thomas issued from the fort, clothed in chain armour, and repulsed the enemy with a loss of 1,600 men, during which, says Skinner, "We had come several times to hand-to-hand encounters." Harsey fired twice at Skinner, but missed him at point-blank distance; Skinner's brother got a cut at Thomas, but his coat of mail turned the sword. Next morning the Homeric conflict was renewed; and trenches were begun within two hundred yards of the fort. But in vain; the cannon-balls buried themselves harmlessly in the earthen ramparts; Thomas again drove out the besiegers sword-in-hand. Recourse was now had to mining, and Bourquien openly talked of the treachery that he was practising and of the severe treatment that awaited Thomas when he fell into his hands.

But this was too much for the English and East-Indian officers. One day, after a copious lunch, when the claret had brought about the *mollia tempora fundi*; a general attempt was made to disarm the wrath of Bourquien; and, after resisting for some time, he yielded at last to the arguments of his subordinates. Notwithstanding the loss of his brother, who had fallen before Georgegarh, L. F. Smith continued to feel a strong admiration for Thomas, and was allowed to visit him once more and urge upon him the cruel folly of sacrificing his men in protracting what was evidently a vain resistance. Thomas shall tell us the result in his own words.

"Considering," he says,— "That I had entirely lost my party and, with it, the hopes of at present† subduing the Sikhs and

* Skinner, who knew and esteemed this officer, calls him sometimes "Burnear," sometimes "Bunnear." It can hardly be conceived how wilfully the Anglo-Indians of

those days wrote each other's names. Thomas always calls Bourquien, whom he knew intimately, "Mr. Lewis."

† Remark the sanguine temperament of these words.

powers in the French interest; that I had no expectation of succour from any quarter (Lākwa having gone to Jaudpur) * * * in this situation I agreed to evacuate the Fort."

This was accordingly done on the 1st January 1802, honourable terms being given to the garrison, and Thomas being invited to camp, with his family, his arms, and his private property, amounting to three lakhs of rupees in cash, shawls and jewels. This was all the visible fruit of twenty years of adventure.

Thomas remained about a fortnight in the camp of his late besiegers, during which he lived as an honorary member of the officers' mess. At length he succeeded in so alarming Bourquien during a post-prandial outbreak that they were glad to part with their dangerous, though distinguished, guest. The particulars are given by Skinner. After a late dinner, during which they had drunk one another's health with copious libations, Bourquien had the bad taste to propose the toast of "success to General Perron's arms," he being then about to march against the British forces under Lake. The officers of that race accordingly turned down their glasses; but this was not enough for Thomas. With the glare of a maniac, as he was at such moments, the fallen hero caught up his sword and dashed at Bourquien, who rushed out, calling for his guard. Thomas remained in the mess-tent, waving his sword, and screaming in Hindustani, with hoarse peals of laughter, "See how I have made the Frenchman run like a jackal." This was a little too strong for his friends; they got him home in a palanquin; and next day he started for the British lines at Anupshahr under the escort of the admiring but regretful Smith. Arriving at Sardhana, he left his family in charge of Begam Sombre with a lakh of rupees for their support. On reaching Anupshahr he expressed his wish to go to Europe *viâ* Calcutta, and set off for that journey accompanied by Captain Francklin, who afterwards became his biographer.

They proceeded down country by boat, and seem to have had a voyage of much jollity, though Francklin does not condescend to give particulars which we might perhaps find not devoid of social interest. They appear to have wiled away the intervals between the then few and distant stations with literary work, Thomas supplying facts and recollections, and Francklin taking notes.* At Benares they seem to have made a long halt, during which Thomas

* Francklin does not specify, indeed, the exact way in which he got together his information; but he informs us, in a foot-note, that on his first arrival at Benares, Thomas be-

gan to put together a memoir on "the state of Western India," for the benefit of the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley.

probably lived among the officers of the British garrison "not wisely but too well."

Shortly after re-embarking, his health succumbed to sorrow, indulgence, and inactivity. He died just as they had reached Barhampur, on the 22nd August 1802, being, as was supposed, in his forty-sixth year.

The facts that have been brought to a focus in the preceding pages are mostly to be found in the *Military Memoirs of General George Thomas*, by Francklin, Baillie Fraser's *Memoirs of James Skinner*, and the narrative of Major L. F. Smith, of the Mahratta army, published in Calcutta about 1804. In referring to Francklin, one has often the advantage of hearing Thomas speak with his own voice; and his utterance is always clear, and—so far as can be learned by comparison with Smith and Skinner—truthful and trustworthy. Unfortunately the adventurer's voice is often muffled; he being, so to speak, immured in a structure, mostly of wood and buckram, such as the editor considered becoming and appropriate to the dignity of History. Yet, although we may execrate Francklin as an author, we cannot but avow our obligations to him as an authority. Sent to Upper India in command of the guard attached to the first British surveying party, he used his opportunities intelligently, and obtained useful information as to the state of what was then an unknown country. His books on Thomas and on Sháh Alam contain almost the only detailed information, by a contemporary European writer, of the events and conditions of life during the last agony of the once great and famous Mughal Empire. The soldiers of fortune above cited confine themselves chiefly to military matters, but they confirm the statements of Francklin and of Thomas himself, so far as they admit of comparison. Thomas' fall was almost the end of the great anarchy; and such a career as his would manifestly have been impossible in quieter times.

It is indeed impossible to exaggerate the evil condition into which Upper India had fallen at the time that we have been reviewing. The paralysis of power which began after the invasion of Nádir Sháh and his retreat to Persia in 1738 has been mentioned by the writer elsewhere.* Of the continued misery of the people for more than half a century after, we have the contemporary testimony of native historians, quoted in the eighth volume of Dawson's *Elliot*†. Baillie Fraser, too, on the authority of Skinner (at that time serving in Sindhia's army), says:—

"So reduced was the actual number of human beings, and so

* *Turks in India*, p. 225-30.† See also *Statistics of Aligarh*, by Sherer and Hutchinson.

utterly cowed their spirit, that the few villages that did continue to exist at great intervals had scarcely any communication with each other ; and so great was the increase of beasts of prey..... that the little communication that remained was often actually cut off by a single tiger known to haunt the road" (*Memoirs*, I. 200).

But such times are favourable to the appearance of great men, Mahdaji Sindhia (who died in 1794) and General de Boigne, (who retired shortly after) are leading instances of talents for war and administration developing themselves in powerful minds under the forcing circumstances of such a period. Inferior in neither respect was the Irish seaman who, unaided by any advantages of birth, education, or patronage, rose by his own intrinsic qualities to the command of armies, and, so far as his leisure allowed, the humane and intelligent exercise of the functions of a sovereign Prince.

Wooden Francklin so far descends from his stilts as to acknowledge that his hero had a share of human weakness. His chief fault seems to have been an impatience of temper, rising into dangerous fury in periods of what Francklin calls "conviviality." The use (or rather abuse) of liquor was the besetting sin of all classes of English, Scots, and Irish, in those days ; and we can hardly wonder if it was shared by a lonely adventurer, bred on board a man-of-war. The present writer spent a year in Hariána in 1853, when traditions of Thomas were still current, and old men still recollected his personal demeanour. One of his native officers, residing near Hānsi in extreme old age, spoke of him with affectionate remembrance as good and brave. He called him "Jahazi Sahib" (the Mariner), and said that he used to be drunk for a month at a time ; but was always sober in time of trouble, usually marched on foot with his men, and, when going into action, used to roll his shirt sleeves over his elbows, and lead his men well.

Thomas was tall and of erect and imposing presence, like the late General John Nicholson, but—unlike him—shaving clean, with the exception of a small moustache. He is said by his contemporaries to have been of grave and gentle manners ; and, though deficient in European culture, was a proficient in Urdu and Persian, both of which languages he not only spoke, but read and wrote with fluency and correctness. He undertook, in his last days, to prepare some statistical information for the Governor-General ; but apologetically remarked that he had been so long unused to read and write in the English language, that he hoped to be excused if his notes were recorded in Persian. It is probable, however, that Francklin used the leisure of the voyage down the Ganges, and of the stay at Benares, to reduce most of this information into Eng-

lish, as his book is full of facts and figures about Hariāna, Rajputanā and the Cis-Sutlej States, with the ethnology and customs of their inhabitants; the greater part of which was evidently derived from Thomas.

Surely this story forms a curious picture of the times, as well as of the man who figured so brightly if briefly in them, by the clearness of his mind, his fidelity to engagements, his self-reliance and his unconquerable courage. This latter quality—which, if not itself a virtue, is the seed-plot of many virtues—never, so we are assured, deserted him to the last moment of his life.

H. G. KEENE.

[*Note*.—From an anonymous *brochure* published recently by the Sardhana Mission, the following particulars have been obtained regarding the family of George Thomas.

The Begam, after her restoration, gave him a wife, one of her principal attendants. This young lady's name was Marie, and her parentage was French; but the family-name has not been preserved. She bore three sons and one daughter, who were taken charge of, with their mother, by the Begam, when Thomas passed through Sardhana in January 1802. Of the sons, John (whose portrait is in the palace) died without issue; the descendants of the others are all dead, with the exception of one lady, the granddaughter of Thomas' son, James; she is the wife of Mr. Alexander Martin, a retired public servant, residing at Agra, Mrs. Martin has two sons.]

ART. II.—THE DIWALI AT AMRITSAR.

A FORMER Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, in a preface to his pamphlet of twenty-five pages on the life of the God Rama, hero of the "Ramayana" and seventh incarnation of Vishnu, announced that his "object was to rescue a great name from oblivion." If Mr. Cust's thoughtful and charitable historical object has been attained, some few people at least are aware that Rama was son of the King of Ayudhya (the modern Oude), and that it was his fortune in early life to win as his bride the adopted daughter of the King of Mithila, the fair Sita, offered, according to the early Indian as well as Greek custom, to him who bent a certain bow at a great public tournament held for the occasion. Whether it was that Sita did not marry for love, as can well be imagined, and, realizing the foreboding of Penelope on a similar occasion, remembered, even in her dreams, her happy home,* or that she partook in an unusual degree of the fickleness which some dissatisfied poets have attributed to the race of women, certain it is that she involved her too athletic husband in a whirlpool of troubles and anxiety. Hindu sacred history states that she was carried off by Rawan, King of Lanka, or Ceylon; but, when the story is read between the lines, and the episode of the beautiful deer, or of the mendicant Brahmin, carefully considered, it becomes tolerably clear that the fair lady eloped with the handsome and powerful monarch of Lanka.† The story of the military expedition in which the Simian race, our earliest known progenitors according to Lord Monboddo and Mr. Darwin, took a very prominent part, and which led to the death of Rawan and the recovery of Sita, need not be here related.

It is said that, when Rama was returning victorious to Ayudhya, his brother Bharat proclaimed that on the night of the new moon Rama would enter Ayudhya in triumph. It was therefore ordered

* Penelope's language on the occasion is softly mournful. students will not object to be re-
Greek minded of it.

Ὅς δέ κε ῥηίται ἐντανύσῃ βιὸν ἐν παλάμῃσιν,
καὶ διοϊστεύσῃ πελέκεων δυοκαίδεκα πάντων,
τῷ κεν ἄμ' ἐσποίμην, νοσφισσομένη τὸδε δῶμα,
κουρίδιον, μάλα καλὸν, ἐνίπλειον βιότοιο,
τοῦ ποτὲ μεμνήσασθαι ὀίομαι ἐν περ' ὀνείρῳ,

Odyssey Book, XXI.

† See Coleman's "Mythology of the Hindus," pp. 24-5.

that all the houses of the great city should be garlanded with lamps. The proclamation was carefully obeyed, as behoved that of a despotic king ; and from every casement, cornice, roof, and turret brightly shone the gay fires which were to light homeward the divine hero and his resplendent bride. Whether it was that the monarch's subjects were parsimonious, or that there was a scarcity of oil in the land, by midnight the lamps of all save one of the houses of the city were extinguished. The illuminated house belonged to a pious, liberal, and god-fearing buniya, probably the only one of the class that has since adorned this lower world. Queen Sita was charmed with the pretty shop-keeper's munificence and supply of oil, and, not having yet relinquished her love of roaming and adventure, went in disguise to his humble abode. When she knocked at the door, however, the buniya ungraciously refused her admittance, declaring that at that hour all well-regulated people should be wrapt in virtuous slumber. Queen Sita's experience of life and of the male sex was profound. She continued to knock at what less observant persons would have deemed an inhospitable portal. Vanquished at length by her uproar and importunity, the buniya appeared and inquired the name of his untimely visitor. The interesting fair one answered—"I am Lakshmi," that is, the goddess of wealth. The buniya took her in, and, with his wife and family, worshipped her, decking her with fresh flowers, giving her boiled rice and sweetmeats to eat and milk to drink, and lighting incense to surround her with heaven-aspiring perfume.

A Brahmin was summoned to perform the ceremonies suitable to the unwonted occasion. A sufficient pecuniary present induced him to apply the saffron *tilak* to the foreheads of the worshippers of the goddess and extemporise verses in her praise. Her heart grew glad as a garden in its prime, and, when in the morning she thought it convenient to return to her conjugal duty, it was but to leave in her place in the buniya's house a pile of gold. The report of the miracle spread through the city, and at last reached her royal husband's ears. He chafed at the incorrigible roaming proclivities of his bride, but his anger was soon changed to delight in the soft presence of penitent beauty. To commemorate the honor paid her and her renewed restoration to his home, he ordained that the day should for ever be the anniversary of the worship of Lakshmi, and that wealth should for ever abide with him who made her devout and becoming sacrifice—light to pale the stars and the choicest fruits of the season. Hence the festival known in Upper India as the Diwali.*

*Dip a lamp, and *Mala* a garland.

The popular accounts of the Hindu theogony are perhaps as numerous as the gods of the Hindu pantheon. The following version of the birth of Lakshmi is given me by a Sikh friend. The Maha Shakti, or great female creative energy of the world, called by some Bhawani, or Nature, resolved to undertake the great achievement of the propagation of gods, and true to her purpose gave birth to Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. In this legend the Brahm, or Hindu Supreme Being, of learned treatises finds no place; and the father of the Maha Shakti's divine sons is not specified, if, indeed, they had a father. There being no daughters born, a difficulty arose regarding wives for the stripling gods; and the mother thought it not unbecoming the dignity and morality of a goddess to offer herself as wife to each of her sons in turn. Brahma, with a fine natural scorn, spurned the incestuous alliance. The Maha Shakti breathed a curse upon him and reduced him to ashes for the slight. She next addressed Vishnu, who, in a similar manner, declined the proposed honor, and was requited with a similar punishment. Her advances to Shiva were not equally unsuccessful. Hardened by his functions as the evil agent of the world, he promised to take the Maha Shakti as his consort, provided she resuscitated his beloved brothers. She acceded to this proposal, and Brahma and Vishnu were restored to the youthful glory of life. A second difficulty arose in getting wives for them, now that Shiva had found a partner. The task was, however, easy to their divine parent. The goddess of Love, according to Greek poetry, was born of the kisses of the sea-foam. The Maha Shakti, however, had not read Greek poetry, and indeed does not appear to have cared for poetry in any sense. She took the first moisture that presented itself wherewith to fashion wives for her sons. The climate of India is warm, and at certain seasons perspiration flows apace. She gathered some from her neck, and moulded from it the fair goddesses Saraswati and Lakshmi. The former became the wife of Brahma, and the latter, of Vishnu. The two goddesses the Maha Shakti made alike in all respects, and, so as not to offend the natural instincts of Shiva, she altered her own shape to counterfeit theirs, and gave herself under the name of Parwati to him as his wife—the alliance of sin and death of Milton's imaginative genius. Parwati became the goddess of nature and fecundity; Saraswati of learning and poetry; and Lakshmi of wealth and prosperity—at once the Fortuna and Ceres of Ancient Roman mythology. Lakshmi made a most dutiful and submissive wife to Vishnu, for is there not in the great temple of Rama a figure of Lakshmi shampooing the feet of her husband as he reposes at full-length on the serpent, Ananta, engaged in contemplating the creation of the visible universe?

In Upper India the principal times for religious fairs and pilgrimages are the Baisakhi and Diwali festivals, the former in April and the latter in November. The Baisakhi is in honor of the new year, the pleasant hour of flowering spring, celebrated by most poets since, at least, the days of Meleager.* Even native Indian writers, generally so apathetic to the beauties of external nature, have softened at that genial season when the sun's rays are temperate, the moon shines with unclouded lustre, the perfumed breath of heaven is gently wafted over the plains, and every thing invites to love and tranquil enjoyment.†

The Diwali festival is held at the close of autumn, and may be considered to symbolize the death, as the Baisakhi symbolizes the birth, of animal vegetation. But at the Diwali time also the climate of Northern India is pleasant as in spring, and perhaps the most delicious to be found in any country in the world.

The Diwali festival, is held on the day of the new moon in the Hindu month of Kartik, according to the native system of chronology. At the approach of the festival, it is the duty of all Hindus to attend to the cleanliness of their dwellings, and purify them with a due recital of prayers and a due application of cowdung, the holy ointment of the Brahmans, corresponding to the holy water of the Latin and Greek churches. On the afternoon of the festival men go forth to buy lamps and toys of sugar or clay, fashioned into the semblance of gods, men, and animals. The images of Ganesh, the god of wisdom, and Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, are the favourite objects of worship on such occasions. On the return of the purchasers they call together their wives and children and summon a Brahman. The Brahman arrives with his sacred book, or without it, if he can recite from memory the prayers proper for the occasion. The Brahman having read or recited certain Sanscrit verses, distributes to the assembled family spiritual favours in the form of rice or sweetmeats. Thereupon incense is lighted, and *gur*, or unrefined sugar, eaten, in honor of Ganesh, while flowers are offered to the minor deities of heaven.

After the satisfactory completion of these ceremonies, the proprietor of the house sends for money to worship it on the

* See in the Greek Anthology his idyll.

El's to Kap.

† The poet Thomson has in his poem of Spring amplified an idea which an Indian poet has presented in a few expressive lines.

جنک—ووصل گلرخان ہی اونکو بھائی ہی بہار
ہم سے مہرزور کو لیکن کب خوش آئی ہی بہار

occasion. Men cannot always regulate their worldly affairs by the strict rules of prudence, and Fortune must consequently find a niche in the Hindu as well as in the Latin pantheon.

*Nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia ; nos te,
Nos facimus; Fortuna, Deam cœloque locumus.*

The silver coin, bright and new, adorned with the head and bust of the Indian Empress, is placed on a silver, or copper, tray. At one side of the tray is placed an image of Ganesh and at the other the image of Lakshmi. If the course of true love had run smooth, and if gods and goodesses were not sometimes as difficult to mate properly as mortals, Ganesh and Lakshmi ought to have been wedded. A union of wisdom with good fortune would ensure success in any world which our fancy can pourtray. But Ganesh and Lakshmi were not wedded either in earth or heaven. Their lives were passed apart. Their images are associated at the Diwali by the Brahmins for a safe-guard against the ills of fate, as two tonic medicines are blended by physicians to ensure a perfect recovery of the patient.

Though the Sikh religion aimed at the abolition of Brahminical absurdities, it was not the object of even the most zealous Gurus altogether to break with ancient and deeply-rooted superstition. Even Gobind Singh, the tenth and last high apostle of the Sikhs, who had done more than any of his predecessors to abolish caste distinctions and inaugurate a more intelligent worship, laid down some strange rules for the guidance of his followers. And, as on that fatal morning on the banks of the Godavery, lying wounded at the hands of the youths whose father he had killed in a paroxysm of rage, he resigned himself to the inevitable lot of man, his last promise to his attendant disciples was that he would for ever abide with the Khalsa or Sikh community, and that any of its members who wished to behold him in the spirit, should visit the Amritsar temple during the Baisakhi and Diwali festivals.* True to this reputedly divine precept, Sikhs and even Hindus throng on these occasions to meet the spirit of the holy Guru at the Darbar Sahib, or great temple of the Sikhs. The Baisakhi festival is a very important one at Amritsar, but, as mortals are generally more enamoured of the gold and silver of the mine than of the bright and many-hued raiment of the earth in the vernal season, the Diwali, sacred to the goddess of wealth, is the greatest festival of the Sikhs and the peculiar time to see Amritsar in all its glory of thronging multitudes, of fair women, of streaming nightly lamps and gorgeous illuminations, of light and aimless pleasure, or of high religious exaltation.

* This latter is a popular tradition. his History of the Sikhs.
It is not given by Cunningham in

On my way by railway train from Lahore to Amritsar, I could not avoid the reflection, on observing so many cheerful and well-dressed natives of both sexes, that, however much men may occasionally grumble at the undoubted faults of our administration, British rule in India has had, on the whole, a happy and beneficent effect. There were natives revelling in high spirits, exchanging with one another banter and raillery, many rich, and all possessing sufficient of the world's wealth to render them contented with their lot—no restraint on their public worship, as in the days of the Delhi Emperors—none fearing that, as under Sikh rule, a richly embroidered turban or lungi would become the illicit prize of a casual Government official, or that the subject's domestic happiness would be destroyed by the forcible abduction of the wife of his bosom; but, on the contrary, well knowing that men can come and go as they like, pray to any object of adoration they please, from the great mirror of the Almighty in Heaven to the shapeless god carved out of the stump of a tree by a village carpenter, and aware that, if a wedded Zulaikha were to desert her husband's side, she must be fairly won by the flatteries and charms of a paramour rather than be forcibly abducted by the myrmidons of some powerful chief.

As for the native females, there they were tastefully and picturesquely attired; generally huddled, it is true, into carriages by themselves, but rather, in several cases, by orders of station-masters than at their own request;* sitting for the most part with uncovered faces, bright-eyed, confident and cheerful, and not the fluttering doves of a by-gone age, endeavouring to shut out the light of heaven from their glad eyes and lively features, trembling at their own shadows, and dreading the approach of some unlawful love in every zephyr that wooed them. Some of them, too, were women of culture and polish, skilled in the mysterious angles and curves of the curious Gurumukhi character, and able to profitably peruse in it the sacred writings of the great Sikh apostles, the Gurus of the Khalsa.

Notwithstanding great social progress, however, it would be idle to suppose that caste distinctions do not still retain all their cohesive firmness. In the carriage in which I travel, I find a native who, from his peculiarly bound turban, his up-turned whiskers, and his general bearing, I at once recognise as a scion of Sikh aristocracy. A native cavalry officer entitled to travel in a second class carriage, but who finds no accommodation there, is

* I have known native station-masters so mistake the use of separate carriages for females, as to hinder na-

tive women from travelling in the same carriage with their husbands.

introduced into our carriage by his commanding officer. He cautiously and tentatively seats himself by the side of the Sikh Sardar. The latter, resting on his seat in the attitude of Krishna, with his feet tucked under him and with motionless figure, says not a word, but casts from his large limpid eyes a beseeching glance on the soldier, who at once interprets it as deprecating the contamination of his touch and the humiliation of having a native of low caste occupying a contiguous seat. It is such a glance as I have seen men, on the point of being flogged, cast towards their executioners, beseeching them to spare their rods and the muscles of their right arms. The soldier rises from his seat, makes his way to the window of the compartment, out of which he stares vacantly for a few moments, and then takes a seat as far as possible from the high-bred and high-caste Sikh.

As we journeyed on, I thought what beneficial changes had been wrought in the province during the thirty years of British occupation, and how it had adopted luxuries and appliances unknown even to the Romans in the zenith of their power. Here was a railway train bearing us all, Christians, Jews, Sikhs, Hindus, Musalmans, on different errands, to the holy city of Amritsar, some to purchase horses, some in quest of pleasure, some to worship the goddess of wealth, some to obtain converse with the spirit of holy Guru, some to pray for children to perpetuate their name and rescue their souls from the terrors of degraded transmigration, or Narak itself, and some on other different errands, of a more or less worthy, or unworthy, character. What would the Romans have given, in the splendour of their power, could they have gone by railway train from the Aventine mount to consult the Sybil of Cumæ, to offer sacrifices to Hecate at Lake Avernus, worship the *lingam** in the graceful temple of Venus at Pompeii, or witness the splendid games in its spacious amphitheatre. England can bequeath to India more than Rome ever could to Britain, inasmuch as England is heir of all the ages, the type and symbol of the latest and most advanced civilization; and not only does England offer more to India than Rome ever offered to Britain, but what it offers, it offers as an imperishable heirloom. The spirit of progress is on the wing; the invention of steam engines has triumphed over distance and the elements themselves; the invention of type has rendered it impossible that the present knowledge of mankind can ever be lost to the

* I felt much interested on seeing the lingam in the temple of Venus at Pompeii when I visited the place some years ago. Anxious to ascertain local opinion on the subject, I asked my

Italian guide the meaning of the little pillar. He replied that it was *una pietra sulla quale le donne sterili sedevano*.

world, and the West, in the persons of Englishmen, gives back to the East, multiplied a hundred-fold, the wealth of knowledge it gave in the indistinct dawn of the world. It restores, cut and fashioned, with all the graces of Art, the shapeless diamond lavishly bestowed on it by the wealthy Orient, while yet Time was young and gods walked upon the face of the earth.

By the way, it is no figure of speech to identify the railway system with a part of the Anglo-Indian administration. The shortcomings of the Railway Department are, by a great majority of the people, set down as shortcomings of the Government itself. When a native in the crowd at a station between Lahore and Amritsar cannot, owing to want of space, get a seat in the railway carriage, although he has already purchased his ticket, he jeeringly says in a loud voice intended for the hearing of the Europeans:—*Mahsul sarkar leti; log dhakke khake phirte*, that is to say, the Government sells us tickets, and its officials, instead of giving us seats, knock us about at their pleasure. This identification of railway management with imperial administration should be generally understood. It could be wished that the control of the Government over Indian railways were even more stringent than it is, and that several reforms indispensable to the comfort and convenience of native passengers were effected. This, however, is not the place for a further discussion of the question.

The worship of Lakshmi, and illumination in her honour, were to be performed on the night of the new moon of the 4th November, but the day before and the day after were considered sacred to her. When the Holi and Diwali festivals fall on Sunday or Tuesday, it is believed by a primitive people, who still see portents in the skies, to indicate famine, pestilence, or war, according to the old Punjabi couplet:—

Holi ya Diwali je rav ya mangal hoe,
Prithivi chakar charhaiye viria jiwe koi ;

that is, if the Holi or Diwali fall on Sunday or Tuesday, set the earth a rolling, few will survive. Another superstition regarding the Diwali is that, if it rains during the festival, it is a prognostic, as well as a cause of a good harvest:—

Je minh pia Diwali,
Jiya phus jiya hali.

according to the Punjabi proverb. It is not necessary for my narrative, but I may mention that the Indians divide the days of the week, as they divide medicine, therapeutically into hot and cold. Sunday, Tuesday and Saturday are sacred to the sun and hot days; Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are sacred to the moon and cold days. Tuesday, of all days of the week, is

deemed the most unlucky, corresponding to Friday in the British sailor's estimation. There appears to be no universally lucky day in this part of India. But certain days are deemed lucky for certain purposes, for instance jewels had better be first worn on Sunday and clothes on Wednesday or Saturday, according to the popular adage:—

Budh Sanichar kapra, aur gahna Itwar,

In like manner a horse had better be purchased on one day and cow on another.

In my description of the Diwali festival at Amritsar it is impossible to avoid some account of the Sikh religion and Sikh observances. What Jerusalem is to the Christian, what Makka is to the Musalman, that Amritsar is to the Sikh, the fount of all holiness and worship. The worship of Lakshmi takes place at night, but there is much that is essentially Sikh to be seen before then, and we will direct our steps from the railway station towards the Darbar Sahib or great Sikh temple, which the holy Guru is still believed to haunt, in the spirit, if not in the body.

On my way the streets are crowded with people, and one's carriage can barely proceed at walking pace. In the crowd are seen Akalis or Sikh priests, with blue-pointed turbans adorned with quoits of polished steel, carrying in their hands small hatchets of the same metal; *Sādhus* or mendicants, with yellow robes and wild demeanour; singing girls, with hands to their cheeks, to assist them in straining their voices to impossible musical altitudes; and the other usual tag rag and bobtail of Indian religious festivals. In the balconies of the shop-keepers' houses along the streets are seen fair women in all the bravery of tinkling ornaments about their feet, with chains and bracelets, and head bands, and tablets, and earrings, and rings, and nose jewels, and glasses, and fine linen, and other such ornaments as were obnoxious to the jealous eyes of the son of Amoz, the rapt seer of Judah and Jerusalem. I was told, as Lady Canning was once in Peshawur, by a facetious or puritanical guide, that these women were the shop-keepers' wives, who thus sat in European fashion surveying the surging crowd and the manifold objects of interest it presented. I have since read an article in the Urdu newspaper, *Rofah-i-am*, lavishing extravagant praise on an official of Amritsar for having allowed the expulsion of these females, who are of course in reality dancing women, from the main streets of Amritsar. Oriental opinion will probably ever be the same as that of the prophet Isaiah on the subject. Students of Islam are well aware that the Moslem purdah custom had its origin in a superstitious and unintelligent reverence for the denunciations

of Isaiah among the Jewish people from whom Muhammad obtained the main ideas of his religion. *

Baron Hügel, in his book of travels in the Punjab and Kashmir, remarks that the women of the Punjab are renowned for the singular whiteness and regularity of their teeth, for the beauty of their hands and feet, and the symmetry of their figures. Excepting, indeed, the women of the lower Himalayas, bordering on the Punjab plains, the women of the middle and lower classes of Amritsar seem the most beautiful even among the women of the Punjab. This is due as well to the fact that the town contains a large admixture of Kashmiris, as to its favourable climate and soil and the prosperous condition of its inhabitants.

My guide will persist in saying that many of the women I see at the windows are really married and of respectable position. Near the entrance to the Darbar Sahib I see a very fair Sikh woman at a window, and, to soothe Oriental jealousy, I speedily withdraw my gaze.

σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσπορώντα

Though she makes no effort to hide her face, she is chastely dressed and apparently belongs to the upper classes. To put my guide's assertion to the test, I enquire who she is, and am favoured with a small insight into the conjugal luxury of the Sikh chiefs. She is the property of the Sirdar of ———, his wife by a morганatic marriage. She is merely employed to accompany him to fairs, public gatherings, and on shooting excursions, where he would shrink from taking his lawful wives of higher social rank. In other respects the holiday wife does not seem to have the worst of it. She is said to be thirty-five years of age; but, thanks to out-door exercise and the free light of heaven, she looks more rosy and healthy than a *purda* woman of twenty.

I had hardly time to admire the graceful Sikh temple, rising from the water, when a Sadhu, or yellow-robed Sikh mendicant, approached me, and said that, if I were not displeased, he would make a representation to me which would be to the advantage of my countrymen. I bade him speak. He took me aside and asked me to sit down with him on the steps of the neighbouring clock tower. When we had both sat down apart from the crowd, he again begged me not to be offended at what he was going to reveal to me. I re-assured him on the point. He then told me the Guru had appeared to him in a vision and declared that if the British were in difficulties with Kabul, they had only to send to England for Maharaja Dulip Singh, and he would

* Seen Sale's Kuran, Chapter XXIV.

raise the Sikh Commonwealth, when the mysterious virtue of the Sikh cold iron would certainly prevail. It made no difference that Dulip Singh had become a Christian, or Kirani, as my holy friend phrased it. Dulip Singh's presence and assistance would in any case be a shield to my countrymen. The Sadhu, in return for this miraculous advice, asked me for alms, and it was of course impossible to refuse him.

My casual acquaintance told me he was a "Nirmillah," which means pure (*Nir* and *Mail*,) without moral spot or blemish. The Nirmillahs are baptized Sikhs, and constitute one of four classes of "Sadhus," or holy mendicants of the Hindu persuasion, in Northern India. The remaining three classes are *Udasis*, followers of Sri Chand, the son of Nanak, and, though dissenters, readers of Nanak's Granth; *Bairagis*, readers of the Granth, but not Sikhs by profession; and *Sunyasis*, or mendicant Brahmans, who yield no allegiance to the reformed religion of Baba Nanak, but visit his temple as an item of their religious duties.

My friends and myself are taken by a policeman to a seat, where we are disengaged from our boots, leather being considered, the modern Sikhs say, impure. We are clothed as to our lower extremities with hideous moccasins, made out of cloth, which might have been purchased as part of his first wardrobe from the wandering Jew—moccasins sufficient to humble any man in his own and general estimation—moccasins which only admit of progress with a poverty-stricken hobble—moccasins which make one feel that he is being persecuted for the religion of guru Nanak.

An aged Sikh ministrant attaches himself to us as our cicerone. He is toothless, and can hardly articulate a word of his laboriously nasal dialect. He gabbles away, however, and with great volubility points out to us the sights of the temple, and gives us an excursus in Sikh ceremonial. He belongs to a class of men called Pujaris, attached to the temple, corresponding to the Mujawirs of Musakman shrines.* The Pujaris live in large, solidly constructed mansions, called *bungahs*, around the sacred tank and temple. They are said to be as lazy, greedy, and worldly as any class of men performing similar functions. At this and the Baisakhi festivals neophytes are received into the Sikh faith. The ceremony on the occasion is called Pahul † or initiation.

* Pujari is derived of course from *puja*, worship. I have made allusion to the Mujawirs in a preceding article in this *Review*. (The Fair of Sakhi Sarwar, *Calcutta Review*, January 1876.)

† Pahul, notwithstanding the broad pronunciation of its vowels, I believe to

be derived from the Hindi *pahla* first, and to mean simply initiation. Cunningham supposes Pahul to be connected with the Greek *πύλη*, a door or entrance, and, following other writers, translates the word *baptism*.

The first form of Sikh initiation was drinking water in which the gurn, or Sikh Apostle, had bathed. This ceremony is said to have been instituted by Baba Nanak, the first guru, on the following occasion. When Baba Nanak's end was approaching, he bathed, and, wishing to test the devotion of his followers, asked his eldest son, Sri Chand, to drink the water in which he had performed his ablutions. Sri Chand refused. The guru thereupon asked his second son, Lachmi Chand, who also refused. Upon this the guru asked his disciple, Lehna, to comply with his request. Nothing daunted, the enthusiastic disciple swallowed the repulsive draught, and thereby, according to the Sikhs, obtained the gift of prophecy and a knowledge of the secrets of existence. The guru then gave him the name Angad, or body of himself (Ang-i-Khud), signifying thereby that Lehna's devotion had made him "bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh." Thus Angad became the apostolic successor of Guru Nanak.*

Angad thought it sufficient to give neophytes water to drink in which he had bathed his feet, not his entire body. This was termed *Charanghol*,† or initiation by the feet. It lasted up to the time of Gobind Singh, the tenth and last apostle. He, with his heroic belief in the virtue of cold iron, introduced the *Kande ka pahal*, or initiation by the dagger, on the following occasion.

Guru Gobind Singh conceived an invincible desire to behold the Hindu goddess worshipped as Naini Devi in the Kangra Valley. This supreme reward was granted to his fearless virtue and laborious austerity. He offered her *Kara Parshad* or consecrated food. She was so pleased with all his devotions, that she conferred on him a sword, a quoit, a bow, a quiver of arrows, and a dagger. Hanuman, the monkey god, appeared as Devi's servant, and brought the guru a *Kach* or covering for the loins. She promised him that the disciples of his religion would be strong as lions (*tera panth ka bal singh jaisa howega*) and that, united, they would form the powerful Khalsa,‡ or Sikh Commonwealth.

* Cunningham gives a totally different version of this circumstance. Doubtless both stories have received currency. I have followed Cunningham, McGregor, and other writers on the Sikh religion in deriving the name Angad from Ang-i-Khud. The etymology is tempting, but it is, however, totally incorrect. Angad is a most ancient Hindu name, and was given to a general in the army of Sugriva, an ally of Rama, when he warred against Lanka.

† *Charan* the foot, and *Gholna* to stir.

‡ Khalsa is derived in the Sikh book written by a Sikh from *Khal* a (lion's) skin. Cunningham derived it from the Arabic *Khalis*, meaning pure. There may be some connexion between the root of the word *Khalsa* and the area of land coverable by a skin, which, in former times, men begged from monarchs. Compare the tract of land which might be enclosed by a bull's hide, purchased by Queen Dido in Africa, which afterwards became a great monarchy, what a Hindu writer would style the Khalsa of the Queen.

Her final injunction was that the Sikhs should wear a Kes, or long hair, which is still a distinguishing peculiarity of the Sikhs, and known as the seal of Guru Gobind. After distributing, further blessings and favours on him, she left his ecstatic gaze for her heavenly dwelling. The guru, upon this, distributed the remnant of the sacred food to his disciples, and bestowed the *Kande ka pahal*, or initiation by the dagger, on five of them. They then, in turn, initiated him. Upon this he congratulated himself on being at once apostle and disciple.*

This initiation is thus performed. On the wide balcony called the Akali's throne are seated the Akalis, or Sikh priests. Attached by a rope to the railing of the balcony, is a pot of water in which pitasa, a common Indian sweetmeat, is dissolved. The ministering priest stirs this water with a dagger, and meanwhile repeats certain verses from the Granth, or sacred Volume of his religion. The neophytes, who are never to be less than five in number, are called upon to repeat the words "*Wah Guruji ka Khalsa! Siri wah Guruji ka fatah! Hail to the Guru's followers! Victory to the holy Guru.*" These expressions are several times repeated with great alacrity by the neophytes. The priest sprinkles water on their eyes, their faces, and the tops of their heads. A neophyte then puts his hands together so as to form a cup. The priest pours water into it, and it is greedily drunk. The same ceremony is performed in the case of the others. The priest then gives them the spiritual injunctions peculiar to their newly adopted religion—injunctions which, according to the custom of most religions, attach far more importance to ceremonial than to purity of heart or genuine devotion. The neophytes are to wear bracelets, drawers (*kach*), long hair, a comb, or Kanga, wound upon the hair, and they must not commit fornication with Musalman women (*Musli nal judh na karna* †

Kara Parshad, or sacramental food, is then distributed. The novices take it from the guru's hand, and cram it into one another's mouths in token of fraternity. This is the symbol for some natural, though perhaps misplaced, merriment, and cheerful is the laugh as the yokels miss one another's mouths, or as some one of them guzzles down too large a pill of the consecrated abomination. Money is then given to the priests, and the five neophytes are declared to be as one brother.

* Wah, wah, Gobind Singh aphi gur chela!

† In Patna, where there are numerous Sikhs, this injunction is phrased

or euphemized into *Mohammad ke bakri ke saath judh na karna*. Do not enter on a duel with the goat of Muhammad.

A greater religious teacher than Gobind said that wherever two or three are gathered together in my name, I am in the midst of them. In the Panjab, from of old, five has been the sacred number, which could count on the presence of the Divinity. *Panjon men Parameshar hai.* Long before Gobind Singh's time, punchayets, or councils of five elders, in Northern India, adjusted claims for debts, settled disputes relating to violations of caste or sacred customs, and inflicted fines for torts of various descriptions. Gobind; therefore, while prescribing that Sikhs should be baptized in groups of five, was simply utilizing an ancient predilection for that mysterious number; while at the same time baptizing men in such large bodies as five was clearly a device which assisted in wholesale proselytism.

The fee payable by each neophyte for initiation is five, or some mutiple of five, articles of value. These articles may be according to the position of the initiated, toothpicks, cowries, pice, annas, or rupees. Very rich men pay Rs. 125, while a very poor man, who cannot afford to pay even toothpicks, is held to have discharged his debt by five times shampoing the ministering priest. The ordinary fee for initiation is, however, two rupees, eight annas, or five shillings of English money, if the rupee of gradual monetary evanescence were to remain at par. The five shillings need not, however, be paid at once. The priests are accommodating. Life is long. There is no hurry. *Aj na ho, kal hojaega,* The first flush of religious zeal is not to be blurred by base pecuniary considerations. There are annually recurring festivals which will often bring the convert to the holy temple, and the gladness of the festal hour, the chanting of the inspired strains of the holy Granth, and the glittering jubilee lamps and illuminations will open his heart for further pecuniary sacrifices. Hence, at the time of initiation, an earnest money of a few annas will suffice, but the neophyte is warned that until the complete payment of the five shillings, the convert's sins will all remain on his devoted head, and there can in his case be no spiritual regeneration. If a Sikh goes out of India, commits fornication with a Musalman woman, or is imprisoned for an offence reprobated by the Khalsa, down must come another five shillings to obtain absolution from the Guru, still popularly believed to reside in the holy temple.

Such was the Sikh initiation, as I witnessed it at the Diwali festival. I was told the ceremony would have been far more elaborate if the neophytes had not been lowly Jats. Had they been men of consequence, instead of the service being hastily mumbled over and a few scraps of spiritual advice hastily hurled at their heads, they would have been taught the sixty-four

precepts of Gobind, contained in his celebrated Sakhi, or Acts.* But religious luxuries cannot be obtained without substantial consideration, and the lenten stock of advice and injunction, doled out in proportion to the attenuated pecuniary subsidy offered, is deemed good enough for ordinary neophytes. It is only at the birth of a new religion or religious reformation, that Ebionism or poverty is blessed. In all old established religions it is wealth that is blessed—nay, like Mercy, according to Portia, it is twice blessed—it blesses him that gives and him* that takes; and it is potent with the beneficent, as well as the maleficent, spiritual agencies. Sikhism was, at its origin, a religion of humility and devotion. In its next great phase it was a highly militant caste. And now it appears to have become a deification of the good things of this world.

The verses recited, or which ought to have been recited, by the ministering priest at the initiation were composed by Gobind Singh for the ceremony. They inculcate the transitoriness of life, contempt of the world, and the importance of the worship of God, the Lord of creation. They may be thus translated in prose:—

I.

I have seen the different sects of Sarogis,†—Sudhs, Sidhs,‡ Jogs, and Jatis;§

Heroes, heroic armies, and holy men of various classes and descriptions.

I have seen every country and found none equal to the Lord of life.||

Without the mercy of Sri Bhagwan (God) nothing is of any avail.

II.

Stately elephants, whose incomparable howdahs are studded with precious stones, and which are themselves gaily painted to enhance their beauty;

* His book has been translated by Sirdar Attar Singh, Chief of Bhandan. It is very creditable to this excellent chief to have attempted an English translation of Guru Gobind Singh ki Sakhi, but it is a pity he did not take the precaution of having the manuscript revised by some member of the race for whom the translation was intended.

† Sarogi is a devotee who wears a cloth over his mouth, so that no insect may enter, and the holy man be thus saved from the crime of taking

life. The Sarogis may not eat after sunset. They appear to be a sect of Jains.

‡ Devotees who are supposed to be able to vanish and appear again at their pleasure.

§ Men who preserve perpetual chastity.

|| This is a hit at pantheistic Jogs, who say that they themselves, being a part of God, are equal to God. Baron Hügel, who has given a translation of this stanza, understands this line differently.

A million steeds, fleet as hinds, which leave the scudding wind behind ;

Strong armed Kings, whose number cannot be computed, marched in proud array.

It mattered not that they were all so great, they departed barefooted at last.

III.

They conquered countries in every direction, beating the drums of war.

Troops of elephants were in their stables, and thousands of bright swans glided in their lakes.

Who can tell the kings of the present, the future and the past ? They surpass enumeration.

Without worshipping Sri Bhagwan, the Supreme, all at last depart to their everlasting abode of sorrow.

IV.

I have met those who bathe at sacred tanks, men compassionate, charitable, pure, in fastings exceeding.

I have studied the Vedās, the Purāṇas, the Kuran ; the earth and the world, all have I seen.

Men who live on air, Jatis who preserve their chastity, thousands have I seen and contemplated.

But without worshipping Sri Bhagwan they are all of no account.

V.

Ripe heroes, strong and mighty in the panoply of war, will cast down their enemies.

Sooner would mountains retreat than they whose hearts are filled with martial pride.

They will destroy and crush the foe, and like furious elephants trample on rebels' pride.

Without the favour of Sri Bhagwan, the Supreme, the fools will depart from this world.*

Some Nihangs and Akalis have their wives baptized in the temple, but ordinarily Sikh women are not baptized. Gobind Singh appears to have been as uncertain regarding the future of women as the prophet of Makka was, and no orders have been left either in writing or tradition for their baptism or initiation. In lieu of this, however, a practice has in late times obtained of sending them

* Each stanza is called a Sawaya by the Sikhs. Sawaya, properly speaking, means a quarter added, but is used to mean a stanza of four lines (tak). Each of the lines above translated has four feet (Bisram) of four syllables each.

The stanzas open with a series of double iambics, but the ditrochee is the prevailing foot. The language in which the stanzas are written is old Panjabi, and is very difficult to translate.

Kara Parshad from the temple. This is accompanied with spiritual advice suitable to their sex and station in life.

*Kara Parshad** was sacred food offered to idols long before he Sikh reformation was thought or heard of. It was the special *bonne bouche* of Lakshmi, the devi, or goddess, *par excellence*. The Sikhs somewhat modified its ingredients and manufacture, rendering it more elaborate and more suitable to an improved religion. But alas! for the tendency of all human institutions to degenerate, *Kara Parshad* is no longer cunningly contrived by skilful cook and holy guru. It is bought now at confectioners' shops in the bazars and thus shorn of the pristine glory of its sanctity.

The ancient recipe for the manufacture of the Sikhs' *Kara Parshad* was the following:—The maker of the food first bathes. He then, with a piece of the ever sacred cow-dung, cleanses a spot called a *chauka*. A pot of clean water is then brought, while clarified butter, unpurified brown sugar, and fine flour, are laid out in equal quantities. The brown sugar is thrown into the water, which is then boiled. While this is being done the clarified butter and fine flour are kneaded and heated over a fire. This mixture is then put into the mixture of the water and brown sugar. During the whole process the priest recites the *Jāpji*, which is a long chapter of the holy Granth repeated on certain solemn occasions. The mixture produced from all these sacred and material influences is called *Kara Parshad*, and is, I am told, actually worshipped by several classes of the Sikhs.

The Sikhs trace the recipe for the manufacture of their *Kara Parshad* to Baba Nanak, the first apostle of their religion. When he visited Sangladip he debated with certain Sidhs, or holy men, who thought to arrest his religious career. He vanquished them in theological combat. They confessed their defeat and begged him to set their hearts at rest by giving them the recipe for his *Kara Parshad*, which evidently possessed such wondrous virtue. He answered them allegorically in the manner of most inventors of new religions:—

There should be placed in your dish three things: truth, contentment, and foresight.

The name of God is Ambrosia, which ensures salvation.

These things should not be abandoned; continually bear them in mind.

* *Kara Parshad* (*karai*, confectionery, and *parshad*, good-will) means the sweetmeat of good-will. The feminine word *karai* is changed into a masculine form according to a seemingly virtuous liberty taken with words by the more puritanical Sikh priests.

Following thy steps, O omnipresent God, I can wade through the dark ocean of the world.

When Nanak uttered these verses, he ordered his attendant, Bala, to lay a cloth and prepare Kara Parshad for the holy men. Bala replied that the place was a desert, where no materials for Kara Parshad could be obtained. The guru replied, "Repeat the veritable name of God ; and divide among the guests what you find beneath the cloth." When the cloth was removed, lo! Kara Parshad sufficient for the whole company was found. The Sidh deemed the clever manipulation of Bala a miracle, and, it is almost needless to relate, lived afterwards, and died, true followers of the holy guru.

(To be continued.)

M. MACAULIFFE, B. A.

B. C. S.

ART. III.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPANISHADS.

PART V.

A REVIEW of primitive Indian philosophy would be incomplete if it omitted to lay before the reader some at least of the poetico-philosophical dialogues of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad. These are among the most interesting and impressive of the records of primitive Indian theosophy. The reader of the earlier articles of this series is prepared to understand these dialogues, and they will very fitly close this examination of the philosophy of the Upanishads. The earlier articles have unfolded the general conception of things formed by the ancient Indian inquirers, and have discussed the antiquity of the doctrine of Māyā, and the relations of Buddhist nihilism and sensationalism, and of the Pradhānavāda of the Sāṅkhyas, to the original Indian philosophy. A translation of the principal dialogues of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad will supply all that is wanting to a fairly developed exposition. A word of explanation from the scholiasts may be interposed here and there.

The earlier portions of the Brihadāranyaka, treating of the mystic significance of the Asvamedha, and of the creation of things by Prajāpati, may be passed over. The first extract shall be taken from the fourth book of this Upanishad. It is as follows :—

“Once upon a time there lived the proud son of Balākā, the eloquent Gārgya. He visited Ajātasatru, the Raja of Kāsi, and said, Let me declare to thee the Self, Brahman. Ajātasatru said :—

“I will give thee a thousand kine as the meed of thy speech. For people think that it is a giver that should be a hearer.

“The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha, that same person, that is in the sun.

“The person, Sankarāchārya says, that the Gārgya here views as the Self is the transmigrating sentiency that knows, that acts and suffers, the Self that has already illusively identified itself with the deity in the sun and in the eye, and that through the eye has entered into the heart of the sentient creature. This personal soul is regarded by the Gārgya as the Self, and worshipped by him as residing in his body and his senses. The Raja puts aside such insufficient teaching.

“Ajātasatru said, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as that that stands the head of all beings, yea, the king. He that meditates upon the self in this manifestation, stands himself the head of all things, yea, the king.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the moon. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate on that rather as the white-robed Soma, the king. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, his Soma is pressed and poured out day by day, and his food never fails.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the lightning. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the resplendent being. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, himself becomes resplendent, and his children are resplendent.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the ethereal expanse. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as that that fills all things, and never acts. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, has children to the full, his posterity is never cut off upon the earth.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that Purusha that is in the air. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as Indra, as Vaikuntha, as the never-vanquished host of the Maruts. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, becomes a victor, unvanquished, the vanquisher of the aliens.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the fire. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the sustainer. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, becomes himself a sustainer, his children become sustainers, of things.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the waters. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the fitness of things. To him that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, that happens that is fit, not that that is unfit. To him fit progeny is born.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in a mirror. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the luminous. He that meditates upon the Self as luminous, himself becomes luminous, his children are luminous, he is more luminous than any that he meets with.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that noise that rises behind one as one walks. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the

breath of life. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation has his whole life in this world. His breath fails him not before his time.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the regions. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, teach me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the companioned, the unforsaken. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, has companions, and they are not parted from him.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is a shadow. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, tell me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as death. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, has his whole life in this world. Death comes not to him before his time.

"The Gārgya said, I meditate upon, as the Self, that same Purusha that is in the mind. Ajātasatru replied, Nay, tell me not of such a Self as that. I meditate upon that rather as the intelligent. He that meditates upon the Self in this manifestation, becomes intelligent in this world. His children are intelligent.

"The Gargya was put to silence."

Bālāki the Gārgya has thus shown that he knows only the *amukhyam brahma*, the Self in its various manifestations or illusory presentments in the gods, in the forces of nature, in the hearts of living creatures, not the *mukhyam brahma*, the Self beyond the phenomenal, the Self in itself, unmanifested, unconditioned. Ajātasatru has pointed out the inadequacy of each successive view of the Self, and the particular reward that follows each such view. For it is a maxim of the Indian religion that the worshipper becomes assimilated to the divine manifestation under which he worships the one impersonal, spiritual reality. *Tam yatha yathopāsate tad eva bhavati.*

"Ajātasatru asked, Is this all, It is all, said Bālāki. Ajātasatru said, this is not enough to make known the Self. The Gārgya said, Let me wait upon thee as a disciple.

"Ajātasatru said, It is inverting the order of things that a Brahman should come as a disciple to a Kshatriya to be taught about the Self. Nevertheless I will offer thee my explanation. So saying, he rose, and took him by the hand. They went to a place where a man lay asleep. The Raja called to him by the name, Great king, white-robed Soma, and he did not rise. He pushed him with his hand, and the man sat up.

"Ajātasatru asked, where was this cognisant person when he lay thus asleep? And whence did he come hither? Gārgya knew not.

Ajātasatru said, when this cognisant person was asleep, he lay within the ether, the spiritual reality, in the heart, receiving

knowledge by means of idealism from the senses. When he receives such cognitions, the person is said to dream. In dreaming he assumes vital breath, he assumes a voice, he assumes the organs of vision and of hearing, he assumes the thinking faculty.

"So when he passes through his dreams, spheres of fruition present themselves to him, he appears to become, it may be, a great Raja, or a great Brahman, or proceeds to higher or lower embodiments. When he appears to be a great Raja, he has his subjects, he lives as he chooses in his kingdom. Thus it is that he takes to himself the ideations and energises freely within his own organism.

"But when he passes into dreamless sleep, and is no longer conscious of anything, he retires into the parts about the heart, through the two and seventy thousand arteries that ramify from the heart, and there reposes. He rests in the height of bliss, like a young child, like a great Raja or a great Brahman. It is thus that he reposes in dreamless sleep."

The mind says, Sankarācārya has its seat in the heart. The external organs, the organs of motion and sensation, are dependent on the mind there situated. In sleep the mind withdraws the external organs from their several localities into the heart, the organ of hearing from the inner chamber of the ear, and so on. In the waking state the Self in its cognitional involucrum, the *vijnānamayah purushah*, irradiates the mind with its pure intelligential light. In sleep the Self irradiates the mind into which the exterior organs have been retracted. In dreamless sleep the Self follows the mind that has retired along with the ideal residues of its waking experience into the heart, and reposes in the parts around the heart, or in fact, throughout the body, permeating and pervading it as fire permeates and pervades a red-hot lump of iron. It is said to repose within the body, though it really abides in its own essential nature as the undifferented spiritual reality, because it is still attached to the mind of the sentient personality implicated in transmigration for the fruition of deserts. But, strictly speaking, in dreamless sleep, the Self has no connection with the body, as it has then for a time passed beyond all the miseries of metempsychosis. Dreamless sleep is a daily resolution into the fontal essence.

"As the spider protends itself in threads, as little sparks issue on all sides from a fire,—even so do all the organs, all spheres of fruition, all gods, all sentiences proceed out of that Self. The mystic name of that Self is the truth of the true. The organs are true, and the Self is their truth.

"The Self is enounced as not this, not that, for there is no other name for it but No. Its name is the truth of the true. The organs are the true, and the Self is their truth."

"Hegel's work," says Dr. Stirling in his *Secret of Hegel*, "is this : the spider of thought—a point spinning its web of thought around itself : the bombyx of eternity, the cocoon of eternity, and their unity in eternity itself."

Brahman, Sankarāchārya says, is the truth of the true, the verity of the real. The five elements of the world are made up of names and forms, and names and forms are sometimes spoken of as real. The reality of this real, elemental world, is Brahman. Brahman can only be enounced as not this, not that, inasmuch as there is in it no particularity, no name, no form, no action, no difference, no community, no attribute, and it is these things only that are expressible in speech. In its own essence it is exempt from all the semblances that constitute the order of transmigratory existence. Every predicate must be denied of it.

The next dialogue is that between the Rishi Yājñavalkya and his wife Maitreyī. Yājñavalkya is about to quit the life of a householder for that of a religious meditant, that he may meditate at leisure on the vanity and unreality of the world, and put away his personality by reunion with the impersonal Self. The dialogue is as follows :—

"Yājñavalkya said, Maitreyī, I am about to depart from this my home. Let me divide my property between you and my other wife Kātyayanī. Maitreyī said, If all this earth, filled with wealth, were mine, should I be immortal ? No, said Yājñavalkya, thy life would be as the life of the wealthy, but of immortality there is no hope by wealth.

"Maitreyī said, What shall I do with that which will not make me immortal ? Holy sir, tell me that that thou knowest.

"Yājñavalkya said, Dear indeed thou art to me, and speakest dearly. Come sit down. I will tell thee. Think heedfully of what I tell thee.

"He proceeded:—A husband is dear, not for the sake of the husband, but for the sake of Self. A wife is dear, not for the sake of the wife, but for the sake of Self. Children are dear, not for the children's sake, but for the sake of Self. Wealth is dear, not for wealth's sake, but for the sake of Self. The Brahmins are dear, not for Brahmins' sake, but for the sake of Self. The Kshatriyas are dear, not for the Kshatriyas' sake, but for the sake of self. The spheres are dear, not for the spheres' sake, but for the sake of Self. The gods are dear, not for the gods' sake, but for the sake of Self. All things living are dear, not for the sake of those living things, but for the sake of Self. The world is dear, not for the world's sake, but for the sake of Self. Ah, Maitreyī, it is the Self that must be seen, that must be heard, that must be thought about, that must be meditated on. It is by seeing the Self, Maitreyī, by

hearing it, by thinking about it, by knowing it, that all that is is known."

It is the Self only, says Sankarāchārya, that is desired in and for itself. This is dearer than wife, or child, or wealth, or all the world. All other love is summed up in the love of the real Self. other love is imperfect, the love of the spiritual absolute within is perfect. Therefore it is that the ultimate spiritual reality of things, the impersonal Self, is to be seen. First it is to be heard in the teaching of the spiritual guide, and in revelation ; next it is to be thought about by the exercise of the understanding ; then it is to be meditated on in prolonged ecstasy. The real self within is seen, when the pure inner vision rises clear within the soul, the vision of the unity of all things in the impersonal Self ; and that rises when all things have been resolved into their fontal unity by hearing, thinking, and ecstatic meditation. These are the means of suppressing the world of semblances illusorily overspread upon the Self, like the unreal snake that overlies the rope, when a piece of rope is mistaken by the belated wayfarer for a snake. "It is the Self that must be seen, that must be heard, that must be thought about, that must be meditated on,"—is one of the most frequently cited texts of the Vedānta. *Ātmā vā are drashtavyah srotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyah.*

"The Brahmans would reject any one that should view the Brahmans as other than the Self. The Kshatriyas would reject any one that should view the Kshatriyas as other than the Self. The spheres would reject any one that should view the spheres as other than the Self. The gods would reject any one that should view the gods as other than the Self. All living things would reject any one that should view the living things as other than the Self. The world would reject any one that should view the world as other than the Self. The Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the spheres, the gods, the living things, the world, are all the Self.

"As when a drum is beaten, one cannot catch the several external sounds, but the total sound can be seized by hearkening to the drum or the beating of the drum ;

"As when a conch-shell is blown, one cannot catch the several external sounds, but the total sound can be seized by hearkening to the conch-shell or the blast upon the conch-shell ;

"As when a lute is touched, one cannot catch the several external sounds, but the total sound can be seized by hearkening to the lute or to the playing of the lute."

So the things that emanate from the fontal unity are various, conscious and unconscious. They are all contained in that one idea in its state of pure indetermination, the *prajnānaghana*, just as the

several partial sounds of the drum, the shell, and the lute, are comprehended in the total sounds of those instruments. Such is Sankarāchārya's explanation of these verses, and it is thus, he says, that if we know the one impersonal Self, we shall know all things, all things proceeding out of it, reposing upon it, and being withdrawn into it again.

"As from a fire laid with moist fuel smoke issues forth in all directions, even so from that infinite Being rise as an exhalation the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvāngirasa, the sacred colloquies, the legends, the theory; the mystic lore, the slokas, the brief texts, the precepts, the explanations. All these are exhalations of the Self.

"As the ocean is the one receptacle of all waters, as the skin is the one receptacle of all sensations of touch, as the tongue is the one receptacle of all tastes, as the nose is the one receptacle of all odours, as the eye is the one receptacle of all colours, as the ear is the one receptacle of all sounds, as the sensory is the one receptacle of all volitions, as the heart is the one receptacle of all cognitions, as the hands are the one receptacle of all actions, as the feet are the one receptacle of all motions, as the speech is the one receptacle of all the Vedas.

"As a lump of salt thrown into water melts away into the water, and no one can take it out, but wherever he may take it up it is all salt alike,—even so is this great being, infinite, illimitable, one pure indifference of thought (*vijnānaghana eva*). One rises from these elements, one is resolved into them again as they are resolved into the fontal unity. After one has passed away there is no consciousness. This I say, Maitreyi. Thus spoke Vājnavalkya."

The sixth book of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad repeats the dialogue of Vājnavalkya and Maitreyī with certain variations. The last verse is given thus:—"As a lump of salt has nothing inside it or outside it, but is a uniform mass of savour,—even so this Self has nothing within it or without it. It is one pure indifference of thought. One rises from these elements, and is resolved into them again. There is no consciousness when one has passed away." This is a very celebrated simile in the Vedānta. All things, says Sankarāchārya, are made up of names and forms, emanating as organisms, organs, and their environments, like waves, foam, bubbles, from and upon the ocean of the undifferented spiritual reality, the impersonal Self. They may all be made to disappear again into it, like rivers disappearing in the sea, by the knowledge of the one underlying reality. Their being is transient and evanescent, as the reflections of the sun and moon playing upon the waters, or as the semblance of redness in pure crystal upon which a red tint has been thrown from without. The living things, individual-

ised and personalised by their semblances of bodies and of organs, perish along with those bodies and those organs, along with the elements that have transformed themselves into organisms and environments of organisms, so soon as these semblances have been resolved into the fontal unity of the undifferented Self, by the teaching of revelation and of its exponents, so soon as they have been melted away by *brahmavidyā*. Their bodies thus passing away, the individual sentiences cease to have any being, in the same way as the images of the sun and moon pass away when the waters they were imaged on have passed away, or as the redness of the crystal passes away when the red object reflected upon it has been removed. Then there abides alone the undifferented idea, the infinite, illimitable, pure reality. There is no consciousness of difference and plurality for the sage that is once for all freed from the body. *Na tatra pretya viśeshasanjñā'sti kārya-karanasanghātebhyo vimuktasya.*

"Maitreyī said, Holy sir, thou hast bewildered me by saying that there is no consciousness after one has passed away. Yājñavalkya replied, I have said nothing that is bewildering. This is possible to understand. For where there is, as it were, duality, there a man sees another, smells another, hears another, speaks to another, thinks of another, knows another. But when all this is Self alone, how should a man see another, hear another, speak to another, think of another, know another? How should one be conscious of that whereby one knows all this? How should one know the knower?"

Such is the dialogue of Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī. It contains texts and phrases of importance in the philosophy of the Upanishads, and the student of this philosophy would do well to mark the following, as of frequent occurrence in Vedantic literature. "It is the Self that must be seen, that must be heard, that must be thought about, that must be meditated on." "All these are exhalations of the Self." "One pure indifference of thought." "Where there is, as it were duality." "With what should one know the knower?"

The rest of the fourth book of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad is taken up with the Madhuvidyā, or simile of honey, in which the following verses may be noted :—

"The body is the honey of all sentiences, and all sentiences are the honey of this body. And this same luminous, immortal Purusha that is in this body, and this same luminous, immortal Self, are one. Purusha is Self. This is immortal, this is Brahman, this is all that is.

"This same Self is the overlord of all living things, the ruler of all living things. As all the spokes of a wheel are fixed into the axle and the felly, even so are all beings in this Self, all these

living souls are fixed into it. This is that honey that Dadhyach, the son of Atharvan, proclaimed to the Asvins. Seeing this, the Rishi said, This took upon itself the form of every form that it might manifest itself. Indra, the Demiurgus appears, multiform by his illusions. Yoked are his horses, hundreds and ten. This is the horses (the senses), this is the ten (the organs), this is the many thousands, the innumerable (sentienties). This same Self has nothing before it or after it, nothing within it or without it. Brahman is the Self that knoweth all. Such is the revelation."

The dialogue next to be presented is that of Yājñavalkya with the priests of Janaka, Raja of Videha. It forms the fifth book of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad, known as the Yājñavalkyakānda.

Janaka, the Raja of Videha, was offering a sacrifice in which he gave large fees to the Brahmins. The Brahmins of the countries of the Kurus and Panchālas had come thither, and Janaka of Videha wished to know who was the most learned of them all. He shut up a thousand kine in a pen, and the horns of each cow were overlaid with ten measures of gold.

He said to them, Holy Brahmins, let him that is the most learned among you drive off these cows. None of the Brahmins presumed to do so. Yājñavalkya said to his disciple, Sāmasravas, Drive off these cows. He drove them away to his master's house. The Brahmins were angry, and began to say among themselves, How can this man assert that he is the most learned of us all? Now Asvala was the Hotri priest of Janaka of Videha. He asked Yājñavalkya, Yājñavalkya, art thou the most learned? He replied, I offer my respects to the most learned, I only want the cows. Then Asvala, the Hotri, undertook to question him.

Yājñavalkya, he said, thou knowest how all these sacrificial things are filled with death and subject to death? Wherewithal shall the sacrificer escape beyond the reach of death? Yājñavalkya replied, by this Hotri priest, Agni, and by the voice. The voice is the Hotri of the sacrifice, and what the voice is, that Agni is also. Agni is the Hotri. This is the escape, the escape beyond the reach of death.

Yājñavalkya, he said, thou knowest how all these things are overspread by day and night and subject to day and night? Wherewithal shall the sacrificer escape beyond the reach of day and night? Yājñavalkya replied, By his Adhvaryu priest, the eye, and by the sun. The eye is the Adhvaryu priest at the sacrifice, and what the eye is that the sun is also, the sun is the Adhvaryu. This is the escape, the escape beyond the reach of day and night.

Yājñavalkya, he said, thou knowest how all these things are overspread with the dark and light halves of the lunar month, and are subject to the periods in which the moon waxes and wanes?

Wherewithal shall the sacrificer escape beyond the light and the dark periods of the lunation? Yājñavalkya replied, By his Udgātri priest, the air, and by the vital breath. The vital breath is the Udgātri priest at the sacrifice. What the vital breath is, that the air is also, the air is the Udgātri. This is the escape, the escape beyond the dark and light semi-lunations.

Yājñavalkya, he said, thou knowest how yonder sky seems to be unsupported, what support shall the sacrificer climb up by into the sphere of Svarga? Yājñavalkya replied, By his Brahman priest, the sensory, and by the moon. The sensory is the Brahman priest of the sacrificer. What the sensory is, that the moon is also, the moon is the Brahman. This is the escape, the escape beyond the sky. Such are the escapes beyond death. Therefore these preparations.

Next Ārtabhāga, the Jāratkāra, began to question him.

Yājñavalkya, he said, How many organs are there, and how many objects? There are eight organs, he replied, and eight objects of those organs. What are they? asked Ārtabhāga."

Asvala, the scholiasts say, had examined Yājñavalkya about the persons and things used in the sacrifice about to take place, the knowledge of this kind of symbolism being regarded as a help to escape beyond the reach of death, that is to say, to escape from further implication in metempsychosis. Ārtabhāga proceeds to interrogate him about the nature of death or implication in metempsychosis. The nature of this bondage to repeated embodiments is to be learned from that of the organs of sense and motion, and from their objects. It is to be feared that these portions of the dialogue will have little to interest the general reader, but they could not well be left out, as they are part of the picture of the proceedings at the sacrifice. We shall come to more important matters further on.

"Yājñavalkya replied, smell is an organ, and it is linked to the exhaling thing as its object, for it is by reason of the exhaling substance that one smells an odour.

The voice is an organ, and it is linked to the utterable word as its object, for it is with the voice that one utters words.

The tongue is an organ, and it is linked to the sapid thing as its object, for it is with the tongue that one tastes sapid things.

The eye is an organ, and it is linked to colour as its object, for it is with the eye that one sees colours.

The ear is an organ, and it is linked to sound as its object, for it is with the ear that one hears sounds.

The common sensory (*manas*) is an organ, and it is linked to the thing desired as its object, for it is with the sensory that one desires the things desired.

The hands are an organ and are linked to the thing palpable, for it is with the hands that one handles things that can be handled. The skin is an organ, and is linked to the thing tangible as its object, for it is with the skin that one is sensible of things tangible. There are eight organs and the eight objects.

Yājñavalkya, he said, thou knowest that all these things are food for death, what is that divine being of which death is the food? Fire, he replied, is the death of death, and fire again is food for water. One may overcome death, may extricate himself from metempsychosis.

Yājñavalkya, he said, when the man thus extricated dies, do his organs issue upwards (to pass into another body), or not? They do not, replied Yājñavalkya. They are melted away within him. He swells, he is inflated with the air, he lies a corpse."

When the finished theosophist dies, the organs and the objects that made up his living personality return into unity with, are melted away into, the one Self, from which they sprang. He is liberated from his journey from embodiment to embodiment.

"Yājñavalkya, he said, when the man thus extricated dies, what is it that does not forsake him? His name, replied the Rishi. His name is endless, endless are all the gods, and thereby he gains an endless sphere.

Yājñavalkya, he said, what becomes of the man still implicated in metempsychosis when he dies, and his voice passes into fire, and his breath is withdrawn into the air, his eyes into the sun, his sensory into the moon, his ears into the regions of space, his body into the earth, his soul into the ether, the hair of his body into plants, the hair of his head into trees, his blood into water. Yājñavalkya said, Give me thy hand, good Ārtabhāga, we will find out the answer to thy question, but this is no theme to discuss in an assembly. So they went out and took counsel together, and pronounced that it was the retributive fatality of works that they had sought for (as the cause of continuous re-embodiments.) They pronounced it to be the retributive fatality, *karman*. A man becomes holy by holy works, unholy by unholy works.

Hereupon Ārtabhāga, the Jāratkārava, ceased from questioning." Thus Ārtabhāga has examined Yājñavalkya about the nature of metempsychosis. There are sixteen constituents, *kalā*, of the transmigrating personality, the eight organs and the eight objects. On the death of the liberated sage these elements of his personality are resolved into the fontal unity of the impersonal Self, like rivers that have disappeared into the sea. On the death of the ordinary man these elements of his personality are resolved into the things of the outer world, till the retributive fatality of his works in former states brings them together again to form for him a new

embodiment. The organs can never depart from the individual sentiency until its extrication from metempsychosis. The words "A man becomes holy by holy works, unholy by unholy works," are one of the principal texts of the Vedānta. The words must not be taken in too moral or spiritual a significance. Their real import is that by a life according to sacred prescription a man may rise to be a god in his next embodiment, and that by neglect of immemorial usages his soul may come to be confined in a vegetable or animal body. The range of transmigration is from a tuft of grass up to the highest divinity of Indian worship. In examining such documents at the Upanishads we must carefully set aside all the ideas with which western religion and philosophy have enriched the mind and widened the associations of our thoughts. The student of ancient thoughts cannot be too cautious in this regard. He is dealing with thoughts that are but the rudiments of thoughts to come.

"Next Bhujya Lāhyāyāni began to question him.

Yajñavalkya, he said, when we were itinerating as sacred students in Madra, we came to the house of Patanchala the Kāpya. He had a daughter possessed of a spirit more than human, of a Gandharva. We asked the Gandharva who he was. He said that he was Sudhanvan, an Āngirasa. Next, when we asked him about the ends of the worlds, we asked what had become of the descendants of Pāriksrit. Now I ask thee, Yajñavalkya, what has become of the Pārikshatas.

Yajñavalkya answered, They have gone where the offerers of a horse-sacrifice, an Asvamedha, go. And where do men go that offer a horse-sacrifice? asked Bhujya. This world, said Yajñavalkya, is equal to two and thirty journeys of the sun-god's chariot. This is surrounded on every side by a land of twice that size. That land is encircled by a sea of twice its size. Beyond this is an ethereal space of the width of a razor's edge or a midge's wing. There Indra, the Demiurgus, taking the shape of a bird, handed over the Pārikshitas to the air, the air took them to itself and conveyed them to the seats of former sacrificers of an Asvamedha. Thus it was that the Gandharva proclaimed to you the air as the place whither the Pārikshatas had gone. Thus it is that air is everything, and air is all things, and he that knows this has conquered death once for all.

Hereupon Bhujya Lāhyāyāni ceased from questioning.

Next Ushasta Chakrāyana began to question him.

Yajñavalkya, he said, tell me plainly what is that immediate and actual Self that is the Self within all living things. Yajñavalkya replied, that very Self of thine is the Self that is within all things. And what is that that is within all things, asked Ushasta. Yajñavalkya replied, that Self of thine that is within all things

is that Self that breathes with the breath. That Self of thine that is within all things is that Self that descends with the descending air of life. That Self of thine that is within all things is that Self that circulates within with the circulating air of life. That Self of thine that is the Self within all things is that Self that ascends with the ascending air of life. That is that Self of thine that is within all things. This is that Self of thine that is within all things.

Ushasta Chākṛāyana said, Point out to me plainly what is that immediate and actual Self that is within all living things, as plainly as a man might say :—This is a cow, this is a horse : thus is this designated. Yājñavalkya said, That very Self of thine is the Self that is within all things. Ushasta asked again, And what is the Self that is within all things, Yājñavalkya ? Yājñavalkya replied, It cannot be so pointed out. Thou canst not see that that sees the sight. Thou canst not hear that that hears the hearing. Thou canst not think the thinker of the thought. Thou canst not know the knower of the knowledge. This is thy Self, the Self that is in all living things, and everything else is misery.

Hereupon Ushasta Chākṛāyana ceased from questioning."

So far, says Sāṅkarāchārya, the dialogue has treated of metempsychosis and its causes, of the nature of implication in metempsychosis, of the sentiencies implicated in it, and of the existence and reality of the Self. The dialogue now proceeds to treat of the knowledge of the one ultimate spiritual reality that underlies all things, as the path of extrication from metempsychosis, and to treat also of the renunciation of all things that must be preliminary to such knowledge.

"Next Kahola, the son of Kushītaka began to question him.

Yājñavalkya, he said, tell me plainly what is that immediate and actual Self that is the Self within all living things. Yājñavalkya replied, That very Self of thine is the Self that is within all things. And what is that that is within all things ? asked Kahola. Yājñavalkya replied, that that passes beyond hunger and thirst, and grief, and stupor, and decay and death. Knowing this Self it was that Brahmins have arisen and quitted love of children, and of wealth, and of further spheres of fruition, and have wandered abroad as holy mendicants. For desire of children is desire of riches, and desire of riches is desire of future spheres of fruition,—for there are both these kinds of desire. Therefore let a Brahman learn wisdom, and stand firm in the power of wisdom. And having made an end of wisdom and the power of wisdom, let him become a quietist. And having made an end of quietism and non-quietism he shall become a Brahman, a Brahman, indeed.

Whatever his school and race may be, this shall he become. Everything else than this is misery.

Hereupon Kahola, the son of Kushitaka, ceased from questioning."

The translation follows the gloss of Sankarāchārya, but if looked at independently, the text might be rendered, "Let a Brahman renounce learning and become as a child. And having renounced learning and childishness, let him become a quietist. And having renounced quietism and non-quietism, he shall become a Brahman, a Brahman, indeed."

"Next Gārgī, the daughter of Vachaknu, began to question him.

Yājñavalkya, she said, thou knowest how all this earth is woven upon the waters warp and woof. What are the waters woven upon, warp and woof. Upon the air, Gārgī, replied the Rishi. What is the air woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the regions of middle space, Gārgī. What are the regions of middle space woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the spheres of the Gandharvas, Gārgī. What are the spheres of the Gandharvas woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the lunar spheres, Gārgī. What are the lunar spheres woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the starry spheres, Gārgī. What are the starry spheres woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the spheres of the gods, Gārgī. What are the spheres of the gods woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the spheres of Indra, Gārgī. What are the spheres of Indra woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the spheres of Prajāpati, Gārgī. What are the spheres of Prajāpati woven upon, warp and woof? Upon the spheres of Brahman. And what, said Gārgī, are the spheres of Brahman woven upon, warp and woof? Yājñavalkya answered, Gārgī, push not thy questioning too far. Thou goest too far in asking questions about the divinity that is beyond the reach of interrogation. Gārgī, push not thy questions too far.

Hereupon Gārgī ceased from questioning."

Here we have the phrase so often repeated in the Vedānta, *otam protancha*, woven warp and woof. The whole illusory order of transmigratory existence, all the spheres of fruition through which the individualized spirit may have to pass in obedience to the law of retribution, are woven like so many webs of finer and finer tissue, *Sūkshmatāratamyakramena*, across and across the impersonal Self. The whole world is but the unreal vesture of the Self, within that is the sole reality. The Fichtean philosophy exhibits a similar idea in a richer form, as when Carlyle says, "So that this so solid-seeming world, after all, is but an air-image, over the only reality; and nature with its thousand-fold production and destruction, but the reflex of our own inward force, the

phantasy of our dream ; or what the earth-spirit in Faust names it the living visible garment of God :—

In Being's floods, in Action's storm,
I walk and work, above, beneath,
Work and weave in endless motion !
Birth and Death,
An infinite ocean ;
A seizing and giving
The fire of living :

'Tis thus at the roaring loom of time I ply,
And weave for God the garment thou seest him by."

And further on in Sartor Resartus : " But deepest of all illusory appearances, for hiding wonder as for many other ends, are your two grand fundamental world-enveloping appearances, Space and Time. These, as spun and woven for us from before birth itself, to clothe our celestial Me for dwelling here, and yet to blind it,—lie all-embracing, as the universal canvas, or warp and woof, whereby all minor illusions, in this phantasm existence, weave and paint themselves. In vain, while here on earth, shall you endeavour to strip them off ; you can, at best, but rend them asunder for moments, and look through." And, elsewhere : " The thing visible, nay, the thing imagined, the thing in any way conceived as visible, what is it but a garment, a clothing of the higher celestial invisible, unimaginable, formless, dark with excess of bright."

The same idea of an unreal vesture of the sole spiritual reality appears in the doctrine of the successive *involutura* of the Self, clothed upon with which it manifests itself in the fictitious world as a plurality of personalities passing from birth to birth, from sphere to sphere. These are enumerated in the Taittiriya Upanishad, as translated in the second article of this series, as the beatific cognitional, sensorial, respiratory, and nutrimentitious *involutura*, the last or nutrimentitious *involutrum* being the visible, tangible organism, made and re-made with food, the *annamayakosa*. These have to be stripped off one by one till we reach the underlying Self. This doctrine re-appears in the Alexandrian philosophy. To quote Zeller (*Philosophie der Griechen*, vol. v. p. 736) : " Even in its pre-existence the soul, equally with the dæmons and the intramundane deities, cannot exist without a body, inasmuch as it belongs to its essence to animate a body ; only this is further, as Proclus and Jamblichus assume, an immaterial, ethereal body, that accompanies it in its return to a higher world, and is, like the soul itself, an immediate emanation out of the world-creator. Between this immaterial body and the earthly body, Proclus introduces a third or even a whole series of such bodies, which the soul takes to

itself before its advent upon earth, as well as at its entrance into the world of the becoming, and retains after death so long as it is imprisoned in the region of the phenomenal."

To return to the text of the dialogue.

"Next Uddālaka, the son of Aruna, began to question him. Yājñavalkya, he said, we lived in Mādra, in the house of Patanchala the Kāpya, studying liturgics. He had a wife possessed of a spirit more than human, a Gandharva. We asked the Gandharva who he was. He said, I am Kabandha, the son of Atharvan. He said again to the Kāpya and the liturgists, Kāpya, dost thou know what is that thread by which this embodiment and the next embodiment and all living things are strung together? Patanchala the Kāpya said, Venerable spirit, I know it not. The Gandharva said again to Patanchala the Kāpya and the liturgists, Kāpya, dost thou know that internal ruler that actuates this embodiment, and the next embodiment, and all living things from within? Patanchala the Kāpya said, Venerable spirit, I know it not. Again the Gandharva said to Patanchala, the Kāpya, and the liturgists:—He that knows that thread, Kāpya, and the internal ruler, knows the Brahman, knows the spheres of fruition, knows the gods, knows the Vedas, knows the living things, knows the Self, knows all things. The Gandharva proclaimed it to them. I know it. If thou, Yājñavalkya, hast driven off the cows of the Brahmans without knowing that thread and that internal ruler, thy head shall fall off. Yājñavalkya said, I do know that thread, Gautama, and that internal ruler. Uddālaka rejoined, Any one can say, I know it, I know it. Tell me how thou knowest it.

The dialogue has hitherto, according to Ānandagiri, treated of all that lies on this side of Hiranyagarbha or the thread-soul, the Sūtrātman, the totality of sentiencies invested in the tenuous *involutura*. It now proceeds to treat of the thread-soul and of the internal ruler that actuates it from within, the Demiurgus that determines the actions of all living beings, keeping them each to its appointed actions like wire-drawn puppets. For it is a tenet of the Vedānta that the Demiurgus, acting through all sentiencies, directs their actions, according to their works in their earlier embodiments, in conformity with the fatal law of retribution.

"Yājñavalkya said, The air, Gautama, is that thread. This embodiment and the next, and all living things are strung upon the air as on a thread. Therefore it is that they say of a dead man that he is bloodless, that his limbs are unstrung. Therefore all things, Gautama, are strung upon the air as upon a thread. Uddālaka said, It is even so, Yājñavalkya. Tell me of the internal ruler."

The air, says Sankarāchārya, here signifies that invisible, ethereal basis of the elements, of which the tenuous *involutura* of transmigrating sentiences are formed. It is in these tenuous *involutura* that the abiding influences reside of the works done in former states of being. It is these tenuous *involutura* that clothe the living soul in its passage from body to body. Next follows a description of the Demiurgus as the one spirit animating nature and all living beings.

“Yajnavalkya said, That that dwells in the earth, within the earth, which the earth knows not, of which the earth is the body, which rules the earth from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the waters, within the waters, which the waters know not, of which the waters are the body, which rules the waters from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in fire, within fire, which fire knows not, of which fire is the body, which rules fire from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in mid space, within mid space, which mid space knows not, of which mid space is the body, which rules mid space from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the air, within the air, which the air knows not, of which the air is the body, which rules the air from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the sky, within the sky, which the sky knows not, of which the sky is the body, which rules the sky from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the sun, within the sun, which the sun knows not, of which the sun is the body, which rules the sun from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the regions of space, within the regions, which the regions know not, of which the regions are the body, which rules the regions from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the moon and stars, within the moon and stars, which the moon and stars know not, of which the moon and stars are the body, which rules the moon and stars from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the ether, within the ether, which the ether knows not, of which the ether is the body, which rules the ether from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the darkness, within the darkness, which

the darkness knows not, of which the darkness is the body, which rules the darkness from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the light, within the light, which the light knows not, of which the light is the body, which rules the light from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

Such is it in things divine. Now for what it is in living beings.

That which dwells in all things living, within all things living, which all things living know not, of which all living things are the body, which rules all living things from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the breath of life, within the breath, which the breath knows not, of which the breath is the body, which rules the breath from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the voice, within the voice, which the voice knows not, of which the voice is the body, which rules the voice from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the eye, within the eye, which the eye knows not, of which the eye is the body, which rules the eye from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the ear, within the ear, which the ear knows not, of which the ear is the body, which rules the ear from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the sensory, within the sensory, which the sensory knows not, of which the sensory is the body, which rules the sensory from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the skin, within the skin, which the skin knows not, of which the skin is the body, which rules the skin from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which dwells in the consciousness, within the consciousness, which the consciousness knows not, of which the consciousness is the body, which rules the consciousness from within,—that is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That is the unseen seer, the unheard hearer, the unthought thinker, the unknown knower. Other than this there is none that sees; other than this there is none that hears; other than this there is none that thinks; other than this there is none that knows. This is thy Self, the internal ruler, immortal. Every thing else is misery.

Hereupon Uddālaka, the son of Aruni, ceased from questioning.”

The Demiurgus is the first manifestation of Brahman. It is Brahman; the Self, fictitiously overspread with the totality of illusion as a *kāranasarīra*, or body out of which all things emanate. It is, Sankarāchārya says, only by the presence and light of this Demiurgus within them that the deities presiding over earth and water and fire, and other natural agents, operate and cease to operate. The same Demiurgus is present in all living things from a tuft of grass up to the highest god, and it is in virtue of his presence and his light that they are in movement or at rest. He is invisible, and vision is his being, incognizable, and the eternal power of cognition is his being. He is himself exempt from the various experiences of metempsychosis, and it is he that metes out to the transmigrating sentiences their several lots of happiness and misery.

"Next Gārgī, the daughter of Vachaknu, spoke again.

Holy Brahmins, I will ask this man two questions. If he can answer them, no one among you can excel him in exposition of the Self. Ask him, Gārgī, they said.

Yājñavalkya, said Gārgī, I rise to put two questions to thee. I rise as some Raja of Kāśi or Videha might present himself before thee, a father of heroes, with his bow strung and two threatening arrows of cane in his hand. Answer me these questions. Ask me them, Gārgī, said Yājñavalkya.

Yājñavalkya, she said, what is that that is above the sky, below the earth; within which are this earth and yonder sky, and all that has been, all that is, and all that is to come? What are all these woven across, warp and woof?

Yājñavalkya replied, Gārgī, that that is above the sky, below the earth, within which are this earth and yonder sky, and all that has been, all that is, and all that is to come, is the ethereal expanse. All these things are woven, warp and woof across and across the ethereal expanse.

She said, Glory to thee, Yājñavalkya, that thou hast solved this first question of mine. Now prepare thyself for the second question. Ask it, Gārgī, he said. She said, Yājñavalkya, what is that that is above the sky, below the earth, within which are this earth and yonder sky, and all that has been, all that is, and all that is to come? What are all these woven across, warp and woof? Yājñavalkya replied again, Gārgī, that that is above the sky, below the earth, within which are this earth and yonder sky, and all that has been, all that is, and all that is to come, is the ethereal expanse. All these things are woven, warp and woof, across the ethereal expanse. And what is the ethereal expanse woven across, said Gārgī, warp and woof?

Yājñavalkya answered, Brahmins proclaim that across which

the ethereal expanse is woven to be the imperishable. It is neither great nor small, neither long nor short, neither red like fire, nor fluid like water. Shadowless it is, and there is no darkness in it, but it is not air, nor is it ether. It touches nothing, is colourless, odourless, without eyes, or ears, or voice, or thinking faculty. It receives no light from without. It has no breath, no mouth. It is immeasurable. It has nothing within it or without it. It eats nothing, and is eaten of none.

It is under the dominion of this imperishable principle, Gārgī, that the sun and moon stand established. It is under the dominion of this imperishable principle, Gārgī, that the sky and earth stand fixed in their places. It is under the dominion of this imperishable principle, Gārgī, that moments and hours, and days and nights, and fortnights and months, and seasons and years, are fixed in their periods. It is under the dominion of this imperishable principle, Gārgī, that some rivers flow eastward from the snowy mountains, others westward, others in other directions. It is under the dominion of this imperishable principle, Gārgī, that men praise their benefactors, that the gods are dependent on the sacrificer, and the Pitris on oblations.

He, Gārgī, that makes burnt offerings and sacrifices in this embodiment, or tortures himself, without knowing that imperishable principle, though it be for thousands of years, yet his reward shall have an end. He, Gārgī, that departs this life without knowing that imperishable principle, is miserable, but he that departs this life and knows it, he is a Brahman indeed.

This same imperishable principle, Gārgī, is that which sees unseen, hears unheard, thinks unthought, knows unknown. Other than this there is none that sees; other than this there is none that hears; other than this there is none that thinks; other than this there is none that knows. Over this imperishable principle, Gārgī, the ethereal expanse is woven, warp and woof.

Gārgī said, Holy Brahmins, you may think it a great matter if you can save yourselves, giving glory to this Rishi. Never will any one among you excel this Rishi in the exposition of the Self.

Hereupon Gārgī, the daughter of Vachaknu, ceased from questioning."

The Self, Sankarāchārya says, is not seen, it cannot be an object, but it is that that sees, it is the vision itself that acts through the eyes of all things living. It is not thought, it cannot be an object, it is the thought itself that acts through the thinking faculties of all things living. It is not known, it cannot be an object, it is the knowledge itself that acts through the mind of all things living. It is the Self that is within all sentiences, that is exempt from hunger and thirst and all the evils of metempsy-

chosis, upon which the ethereal space is woven. It is the goal, the final term.

"Next Vidagdha, the son of Sakala, began to question him.

Yājñavalkya, he said, how many gods are there? Yājñavalkya answered him according to the following Nivid (enumerative) text. There are as many, he said, as are enumerated in the Nivid of the Vaisadevasastra, three and three hundred, and three and three thousand. Yes, said Vidagdha. He asked again, How many gods are there, Yājñavalkya? Three and thirty, he replied. He asked again, How many gods are there, Yājñavalkya? Six, he replied, Yes, said Vidagdha, and asked again, How many gods are there, Yājñavalkya? Three, he replied. Yes, said Vidagdha, how many gods are there, Yājñavalkya? Two, he replied. Yes, said Vidagdha, how many gods are there, Yājñavalkya? One and a half, he replied. Yes, said Vidagdha, how many gods are there, Yājñavalkya? One, he replied. Yes, said Vidagdha. Which are those three and three hundred, and those three and three thousand?

Yājñavalkya said, The glories of these are three and thirty. Which are those three and thirty, asked Vidagdha? The eight Vasus, said Yājñavalkya, the eleven Rudras, and the twelve Ādityas, are thirty-one, and Indra and Prajāpati make up the thirty-three.

Who are the Vasus? The earth, the air, the welkin, the sun, the sky, the moon, and the stars,—these are Vasus. In these all this world is contained, and therefore they are the Vasus.

Who are the Rudras? These ten organs of sense and motion in the living thing, and the common sensory as the eleventh. When these quit this mortal body, they make men weep, and because they make men weep they are the Rudras.

Who are the Ādityas? The twelve months of the year are the Ādityas, for they as they move onwards take along with them all living things, and because they take away with them all living things, they are the Ādityas.

Who is Indra, and who is Prajāpati? Indra is the thunder, and Prajāpati is the sacrifice. What is the thunder? It is the thunderbolt. What is the sacrifice? It is the sacrificial animals.

Who are the six gods? They are fire, and earth, and air and welkin, and sun and sky; these six, for all these are six.

Who are the three gods? They are these three worlds, earth, air and sky, for in these are all the gods. Who are the two gods? They are food and the breath of life. Who is the god one and a half? The wind that blows.

Then they cried, This wind that blows seems to be one, how sayest thou that it is one and a half? Yājñavalkya replied, It is

one and a half *adhyardha*, because all this world grows up (*adhyardhnoti*) in it. Who is the one god? It is the breath of life. It is the Self, they call it That."

Thus all the gods are shown to be only particular and local manifestations of the one life that lives in all things. All things are full of gods, and permeated by one divine life. One divine being, says Sankarāchārya, manifests itself as many to fulfil a plurality of functions under the diversity of name and form, of attribute and power.

"He that knows that living being, whose body is the earth, whose eye is fire, whose sensory is light, the final goal of every spirit, he indeed may be said to know. Vidagdha said, I know that living being, the final goal of every spirit, of which thou speakest. It, is this very embodied personality, the incarnate soul. Tell me? Sākalya said, Yājñavalkya, what is the deity of that incarnate soul? It is ambrosia, said Vidagdha.

Yājñavalkya said, He that knows that living being whose body is the colours, whose eye is the world, whose sensory is the light, who is the final goal of every spirit,—he indeed may be said to know. Yājñavalkya, he said, I know that living being, the final goal of every spirit, that thou speakest of. It is the living being in the sun. Tell me, Sākalya, what is the deity thereof? It is the eye, he said.

Yājñavalkya said, he that knows that living being whose body is the darkness, whose eye is the heart, whose sensory is the light, who is the final goal of every spirit,—he indeed may be said to know. Yājñavalkya, he said, I know that living being, the final goal of every spirit, that thou speakest of. It is the living being seen as a shadow. Tell me, Sākalya, what is the deity thereof? It is death, he said.

Yājñavalkya said, he that knows that living being whose body is the colours, whose eye is the visual organ, whose sensory is the light, who is the final goal of every spirit,—he indeed may be said to know. Yājñavalkya, he said, I know that living being, the final goal of every spirit, that thou speakest of. It is the personality seen on a reflecting surface. Tell me, Sākalya, what is the deity thereof? It is the breath, he said.

Yājñavalkya said, he that knows that living being whose body is the waters, whose eye is the heart, whose sensory is the light, who is the final goal of every spirit,—he indeed may be said to know. Yājñavalkya, he said, I know that living being, the final goal of every spirit, that thou speakest of. It is the personality seen in the waters. Tell me, Sākalya, what is the deity thereof? It is Varuna, he said. Then Yājñavalkya said, Sākalya, surely these Brahmins have made thee their ash-pan. (Thou knowest not how my words consume thee.)

Yājñavalkya replied, the son of Sākala, since thou hast outspoken these Brahmins of the Kurus and Panchālas, surely they have made thee an ash-pan for burning embers. Dost thou know Brahman? Yājñavalkya said, More than that, I know the regions, and their deities, and their supports. If, said Vidagdha, thou knowest the regions, their deities and their supports, what deity becomest thou in this eastern region? The sun, he said, is my deity. What is that sun supported on? On the eye. What is the eye supported on? Upon colours. What are the colours supported on? Upon the heart. It is even so, Yājñavalkya, said Vidagdha."

And so the dialogue proceeds, Vidagdha putting repeated questions till Yājñavalkya again teaches how all these things, and the ethereal space in which they are contained, are woven across and across the sole reality, the impersonal Self.

"This Self is that, not this, not that : imperceptible, for it cannot be perceived, indiscernible ; for it cannot be rent asunder ; absolute, for it cannot be related ; inviolable, for it cannot be pained or hurt. These that I have spoken of are the eight bodies, the eight eyes, the eight gods, the eight living beings. Now I ask thee who is that living being revealed in the Upanishads that actuates them, that abides beyond them. If thou canst not tell me that, thy head shall fall off. The son of Sākala knew not his head fell off, and thieves made off with his bones, as his disciples were carrying them home, mistaking them for some other things.

Then, said Yājñavalkya, Holy Brahmins, let any one of you who chooses question me, or you may all of you question me. Or I will question any one you choose among you, or I will question all of you. But the Brahmins did not dare to answer him.

Then Yājñavalkya, questioned them in these verses. Man is indeed like a tree of the forest, his hair is the leaves, his skin the outer bark. The blood trickles from his skin, as the sap trickles from the bark ; wound him and the blood will flow like sap from a cloven tree. His flesh is the inner bark, the flesh about his bones is the membrane about the wood, his bones the wood within, his marrow is the pith. A tree is cut down, and a fresh tree grows up out of its root. Man is cut down by death. From what root does he grow up again ? Say not from procreation, for that comes from the living, not the dead. The seed-sprung tree that has passed away, soon springs up again, unless it be torn up with its roots, for then it cannot grow again. Man is cut down by death, from what root does he grow up again ? If you say, he is already born again, I say, no, for who can have begotten him again ? The Brahmins were unable to answer."

The Self is intelligence, it is beatitude, it is the final goal of

the wealth-giving sacrificer, contemplating it and in ecstatic union with it."

Thus ends the discussion at Janaka's sacrifice. The sixth book of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad consists of two dialogues between Janaka and the Rishi Yājñavalkya. They both contain texts often quoted in the Vedānta.

"Janaka, the Raja of Videha, was sitting to give audience, and Yājñavalkya came before him. He said, Yājñavalkya, what art thou come for? in quest of more cows, or in quest of subtle disputation? In quest of both, great king, said the Rishi."

Yājñavalkya proceeds to question Janaka about the instruction he has received from his teachers, and to point out that they have taught him about the Self only in its particular and local manifestations, a knowledge of which leads only to transitory rewards, not to liberation from metempsychosis.

"Then Janaka, the Raja of Videha, came down from his seat, and said, Glory to thee, Yājñavalkya. Teach me more, great king, replied the Rishi, thou art equipped with these mystic doctrines, like a man that has taken a carriage or a boat to set out on a long journey. Thou art great and rich, versed in the Vedas and instructed in mystic doctrines, but when thou departest from this life whither wilt thou go? I know not, said Janaka, whither I shall go. Then I will tell thee whither, said the Rishi. Say on, said the Raja.

The Purusha, said Yājñavalkya, that is in the right eye, men call Indha, but this same Indha they mysteriously call Indra, for the gods love mystery and hate publicity.

The Purusha that is in the left eye is his wife Virāj. Their habitation is the ether inside the heart. Their food is the blood within the heart. Their covering is the network of arteries in the heart. Their path of ingress and of egress is the artery that ascends upwards from the heart. The arteries, minute as a hair split a thousand times, are centred in the heart. The food proceeds along these, and thus it is that the tenuous involucre has a more tenuous nutriment than the body.

When the sage has passed through the body and the tenuous involucre within the body to the living spirit within the heart, the breath is the east, the left vital airs are the south, the hinder vital airs are the west, the upward vital airs are the north, the upper vital airs are the upper region, the downward vital airs are the nether region of space. The vital airs are the regions of space."

The sage, Sankarācharya says, has thus reached the living spirit, the *prāṇātman*, Hiraṇyagarbha, the soul of the world, *sarvātman*. This soul of the world has further to be resolved

into the innermost, the unmanifested, Self, the *pratyagātman*, that it may attain to the original unity beyond the three states of waking, dreaming, and dreamless sleep.

"This same Self is not this, not that: imperceptible, for it cannot be perceived; indiscernible, for it cannot be rent asunder; inviolable, for it cannot be pained or hurt. O Janaka, thou art there arrived where there is no more fear. Janaka, the Raja of Videha, said, May this salvation come to thee also, Yājñavalkya, for teaching me this reality beyond all fear. Glory to thee. Thine be this kingdom of Videha, and thine be I.

Brahman is the reality beyond all fear, as on attaining to it there is no further fear of birth, and of the miseries of life and death. Janaka has reached the final goal. The text, O Janaka, thou art there arrived where there is no more fear, is one of those most often quoted in the Vedānta. *Abhayam vai, Janaka prāpto'si.*

Yājñavalkya went again before Janaka, the Raja of Videha, and thought, as he went, that he would not say anything this time. Now Janaka of Videha and Yājñavalkya had formerly talked together at a sacrifice to Agni, and Yājñavalkya had granted Janaka a boon. Janaka now chose to be permitted to question him at will, and Yājñavalkya assented. The Raja first asked him:—

Yājñavalkya, what light has man? He has the light of the sun, O king, replied the Rishi. It is in the light of the sun that he sits down, and rises up, and goes about, and does his work, and goes home again. But when the sun has set, Yājñavalkya, what light has man? The moon is then his light, replied the Rishi. It is in the light of the moon that he sits down, and rises up, and goes about, and does his work, and goes home again. It is even so, Yājñavalkya, said the Raja.

But when the sun has set, Yājñavalkya, and the moon has set, what light has man? A fire is then his light, replied the Rishi. It is by the light of a fire that he sits down, and rises up, and goes about, and does his work, and goes home again.

But when the sun has set, and the moon has set, and the fire has gone out, what light has man, Yājñavalkya? Speech is then his light, replied the Rishi. It is by the light of uttered sounds that he sits down, and rises up, and goes about, and does his work, and goes home again."

Sankarāchārya explains this last verse thus:—In the rainy season, in a cloudy night, a man cannot see his hands before him. He is guided in what he has to do by the voices of those about him, or it may be, by the barking of a dog, or the braying of an ass, by the sounds of village life around him.

"But, Yājñavalkya, when sun and moon are set, and the fire is out, and all sounds are hushed, what light has man? The Self within him is then his light, replied the Rishi. It by the light

of the Self that he sits down, and rises up, and goes about, and does his work, and goes home again.

What Self is that? asked the Raja. It is, replied the Rishi, this knowing, living being, in the vital airs, the light within the heart. This is always alike in all, and it passes through this embodiment and the next. It seems to think, it seems to move. It passes into dreams, it passes beyond the world, beyond the forms of metempsychosis. This same Self at birth attaches itself to a body, and is implicated in imperfections. It passes out at death and quits those imperfections. Of this same Self there are two places, this life and the next. There is also a third, the junction of the two, the place of dreams. When it abides in the place of junction, the dreaming state, it sees both this and the next embodiment. Then, according to the path it has made for itself, it passes to its next embodiment, it reaches that path and sees pains and pleasures. Then, when it passes into dreams, it takes with it the residues of all its various waking experiences, it lays aside the body, it makes for itself a dreaming body, it dreams by its own light; and then the Self is its own light. No chariots are there, no horses, no roads, but it creates for itself chariots, horses, roads. No pleasures are there, no joys, no raptures, but it creates for itself pleasures, joys, raptures. No houses are there, no pools, no rivers, but it creates for itself houses, pools, rivers: for it is the creator.

Therefore there are these verses. In sleep it lays aside the body. Sleepless itself, it looks upon the visions of its sleep. Taking its light along with it, it passes into another embodiment, the luminous Self, the sole spirit that passes onward.

Preserving with the breath its vile nest, the body, it passes away beyond that nest, immortal. Immortal, it goes whither it lists, the luminous Self, the sole spirit that passes onward.

In the place of dreams it passes upward, passes downward, luminous, it makes for itself countless forms, dallying with women, laughing, or, it may be, seeing perils.

Men see the garden that it walks in, but no man sees the Self itself. Men, they say, cannot wake it when it sleeps.

Hard to heal is that part of the body to which this comes not back again. It is blind, or deaf, and lifeless.

Some indeed say that its place of dreams is the same as its place of waking, because it sees in dreams the same things that it sees awake. But this is not so. In dreams the Self is its own light.

Holy sir, said Janaka, I will give thee a thousand cattle. Teach me yet again, that I may be liberated from metempsychosis.

This same Self, said Yājñavalkya, after rejoicing and going about in its dreams, and seeing good and evil, passes into dreamless sleep and thence again fleets, as it came, into the place of dreams it came

from, to other dreams. It is not followed by any good or evil that it sees in dreams, for, this Self is never implicated. It is even so, Yajñavalkya, said Janaka. Holy sir, I will give thee a thousand kine. Teach me yet again that I may be extricated from metempsychosis.

This same Self, said Yajñavalkya, after rejoicing and roaming in the waking state, and seeing good and evil, fleets again into the place of dreams.

Like as a great fish swims from bank to bank of a river, from side to side,—even so this Self passes from dreams to waking and from waking back to dreams.

Like as a kite or falcon flies about in yonder sky, becomes tired, folds its wings and cowers in its nest, even so, this Self passes into the state of dreamless sleep, in which it desires nothing and sees no dreams. There are in man arteries minute as a hair split a thousand times, filled with fluids white, blue, yellow, green, and red. It is in these, ramifying through the whole body, that the tenuous involucrum is lodged. Now, whatever peril a man sees awake, that he may see asleep. Enemies seem to kill him, or to take him captive, or an elephant seems to chase him, and he seems to fall into a pit. This he thinks in his illusion. But when he knows that he is all that is, as he had in his dream seemed to be a god or a king, this is his highest state.

This sameness with all things (transient in dreamless sleep and permanent in liberation) is his state exempt from all desires, and freed from all imperfections (from merit and demerit which prolong metempsychosis). This is his state of perfect satisfaction, without desire, without sorrow. In this state a father is no more a father, a mother is no more a mother, the spheres no longer spheres, the gods no longer gods, the Vedas no longer Vedas. In this state the thief is thief no more, the Chandāla a Chandāla no more; the Paulkasa a Paulkasa no more, the holy mendicant is a holy mendicant no more, the anchorite an anchorite no more. He is no more followed by his good works, no more followed by his evil works, for he has at last passed beyond all the miseries of his heart."

This extract may fitly close these illustrations of the philosophy of the Upanishads. We have seen how the Upanishads, as the latest and the highest utterances of Śruti or Vedic revelation, have superseded, for the initiated few, the religion of the hymns of the Rishis, and the primitive *sacra*,—already lifeless forms of words,—with a new religion of that of ecstasy and self-induced catalepsy, or Yoga. The religion of immemorial usages, and of liturgic rites, has been pronounced to belong to the people of the world; and to tend, like every other form of activity, only to prolong the miseries of metempsychosis. Good works, no less than evil, are imperfections, that have to be put away. They lead only to

new embodiments, to higher spheres indeed, but still to spheres tainted with misery, for the pleasures even of a paradise are fleeting and unequally allotted. Not exertion, but inertion, is the way to liberation. So long as the living being acts, so long must he suffer the results of his good and evil acts in body after body. But from the true point of view taught to the initiated, action and passion, works and the fruits of works, the religion of rites and immemorial usages, the sacrifices, and the gods sacrificed to, are alike unreal; for the finished theosophist they have no existence. They belong to the world of semblances, the dream of souls as yet unawakened. Nevertheless these things have their fruits in the phantasmagory of metempsychosis, and to taste these the unawakened soul must pass from body to body, from sphere to sphere, as through dream after dream. They that neglect the prescriptive *sacra* pass along the evil path, again and again, to ephemeral insect lives. This is the *kaṣṭā gatih*. They that live in the village obedient to the religion of rites and immemorial usages, ascend after death to the lunar sphere, along the path to the Pitris, the *pitrīyāna*. There they dwell for a time with the gods, till their reward is over, and they return to fresh embodiments. They that add a knowledge of the significance of these rites to their obedience to them, ascend after death to the sun along the path to the gods, the *devayāna*. Thence they proceed to the sphere of Brahmā, the supreme divinity, to abide there till the close of the æon, and to be sent back into the world at the next palingenesis. These have obeyed the religion of rites and sacrifices, the *karmamārga*, a religion which has its highest use in purifying the mind of the votary, it may be through several embodiments, till he is ready for initiation into the religion of knowledge, the theosophy of the anchorites of the forest, the *jñānamārga*, *brahmavidyā*. Moral and religious excellence is valuable only as preliminary and purificatory, as tending to fit the intellect for the reception of liberating light and knowledge. Such excellence consists chiefly in conformity to the prescriptive routine of life, and Vedic ritual. The Brahman, it must be noted, comes into the world laden with three debts,—his debt to the Rishis, to repeat and transmit their hymns and traditions,—his debt to the Pitris, or ancestral spirits, to beget children, to offer cakes and water for them to live upon,—and his debt to the gods, to make oblations to them for their sustenance, that the gods in their turn may be able to send rain to fertilise the fields. It is true that these debts belong to the world of semblances, the phantasmagory of metempsychosis, and yet, as a rule, it was not till he had paid these debts that the Brahman was to retire to the jungle, to meditate at leisure upon the vanities of life and the miseries of the long process of birth and death,—birth and death, through successive

æons,—and there also to strive by self-torment, by suppression of all thought and feeling, to attain to vacuity, apathy, isolation,—to refund his personality into the original unity of the impersonal Self. There is no truth in things many, in things finite; no truth where the thinker is not one with the things around him. Truth, existence, reality, belongs to the one, the infinite, the absolute. This one existent is the Self, that is the inmost essence of all things, that gives life and light to all things living, and permeates everything from a tuft of grass up to the highest divinity of Indian worship. This Self, this highest Self, the impersonal spiritual essence, Brahman, Ātman, Paramātmān, is the existent, the idea, the bliss, other than which nothing is, and other than which all things only seem to be. It dwells within the heart of every sentiency, seated in the ether, in the interior of the heart. The light within the heart is the light that lightens all the world. If it were withdrawn, all things would lapse into blindness, darkness, nothingness. To see it, to become one with it, to pass away into that light of lights beyond the darkness, is the highest end of aspiration. It is only when this light within shall reveal itself to the sage, only when his every thought and feeling shall have melted away in the strenuous contemplation of it, that his personality shall pass away into its impersonality, into the everlasting peace. The personality has to be put away. The darkness of the cosmical illusion passes, the light alone remains, the one existence, thought, and bliss. To pass away into this light, to become one with it, a man must put away all the desires of his heart, part from his family, renounce the world, repair to the solitudes of the forest, and there devote himself to a prolonged suppression of thought and feeling that shall end in ecstasy, in self-induced catalepsy. There is little that is spiritual in these old doctrines of the Indian theosophists. They sought for participation in the divine life, not by pure feeling, high thought, and strenuous exertion, not by a ceaseless effort to see things as they are, and to make them as they ought to be, but by the repression of every faculty, by inertia, vacuity, apathy, and trance. The sole perfect being was for them formless thought, not the supreme ideal of thought, the unattained perfection intimated in the idealising tendencies of the human mind. Thought in a state of pure indetermination, not in its highest type, was the object of contemplation. "Being in itself," says Vacherot, "being infinite, absolute, universal,—what can be contemplated as more sublime, more vast, more profound? It is the god Pan evoked to the confusion of the idols of the human imagination and the self-consciousness. But what imperfections, what miseries this loving god implies, if I regard the world as its unceasing manifestation! And if I wish to see it in itself, in its inmost essence, I

find it to be nothing, more than being in potentiality, without light, colourless, formless, without determinate essence, the dark abyss in which the East believed it saw the supreme verity, but in which the admirable Greek philosophy found nothing but chaos and nonentity." Such as they are, and have been shown to be, the Upanishads are the loftiest utterances of the ancient Indian mind. They are the produce of a rude age, and of a barbarous community. They are of interest chiefly as showing how the world imaged itself to the minds of the thoughtful few in such a society. They are further interesting for their occasional poetical beauty and metaphysical elevation. It is probably impossible for a modern thinker to place himself in the position of the old Indian theosophists, and to see things altogether as they saw them. The man cannot revert to the child, the civilised man to the barbarian. It is difficult to recover the ideas, and after they have been recovered so far as may be, it is still more difficult to put them into words. Anything like a precise reproduction of Indian thoughts in Western language is impossible. A high language has to be applied to a low order of thoughts, and the new words impart a wealth of analysis and association foreign to the old. However vigilant the exposition may be, it is perhaps impossible for him to say neither too little nor too much, and to speak altogether without prejudice and without predilection.

Whatever may be their value, these conceptions have been the highest product of Indian intelligence, and are almost the only elements of interest in Indian literature. Indian literature, in every stage, is saturated with them.

The account thus offered of the primitive philosophy of India cannot be more fitly closed than with the following verses of Emerson, which breathe the very spirit of the movement. The text is emended, that printed in his poems being evidently incorrect:—

If the red slayer think he slays,
Or the slain think he is slain,
They little know the subtle ways
I keep, and pass, and turn again.
Far, or forgot to me is near,
Shadow and sunlight are the same;
The vanished gods to me appear;
And one to me are shame and fame.
They reckon ill who leave me out;
Me when they fly, I am the wings;
I am the doubter and the doubt,
And I, the hymn, the Brahman sings,
The strong gods pine for my abode,
And pine in vain the sacred Seven;
But thou, meek lover of the good,
Find me, and turn thy back on heaven.

ART. IV.—CÆSAR : A SKETCH.

BY JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A.

“THERE will be among those yet unborn,” Cicero foretold, in addressing Cæsar before the Senate, “the same controversy that has prevailed among us ; when some will extol your actions to the skies, others will find in them something defective.” The discussion which the great orator anticipated has certainly been maintained up to the present time, and after nineteen centuries of duration it shows no sign of slackening. But it has been carried on in a spirit somewhat different from that which Cicero, in his respect for posterity, ventured to prophesy, when he told Cæsar to reverence his future judges, as they would be impartial, neither biassed in his favor by partisanship and affection, nor prejudiced against him by hatred and envy. Observers of every generation have seen in the events of Cæsar’s time something which reminded them of their own party struggles, and they have imported into historical criticism the heat of political feeling. The men of letters who lived in the early days of the Roman Empire, in particular, seem to have considered that their zeal for the memory of the republic required that they should lose no opportunity of attacking the character of the man who was supposed to have destroyed it, and their testimony as to the events of the period must be taken with great reserve, where they are not supported by contemporary evidence. In England, too, there was for many generations a disposition to attack Cæsar, as a rebel against an established and aristocratic government. Two celebrated tragedies prove that Brutus was the favourite with the classical play-goers of Shakespear’s time, Cato in the days of Addison. Dr. Arnold only expressed the prevailing sentiment among scholars of his day when he declared it a matter of doubt whether the life of any individual had been productive of greater misery to his fellows, or whether there was even a career marked with a deeper stain of wickedness, than that of Cæsar. In our own days English opinion has come round to that which has always prevailed on the Continent. This may be due in some measure to the progress of historical research, which has shewn that some of the familiar charges against Cæsar rest on no solid foundation, but it must be mainly attributed to a change in political feeling. Froude’s present work introduces a new element into the controversy, the hero-worship of a school which glorifies mere success, independent of the merits of the cause. His brilliant and enthusiastic sketch leaves us in

doubt whether, if Cæsar had been pierced by a javelin when he attempted to rally his legions at Dyrrachium, on the occasion of his only defeat, our author's adoration would not have been transferred to the victorious Pompey. But, in spite of this defect, his work is certainly the clearest and ablest expression of the present English feeling as to the character of the founder of the Roman Empire. Froude has, like the late Emperor Napoleon, prefaced his account of Cæsar by a brief summary of the party struggle and civil war which was commenced by Tiberius Gracchus, continued by his brother, revived by Marius, and apparently finished by the death of Cinna and the massacre of his supporters. But it seems doubtful whether he gives sufficient importance to the influence of this contention on the position of Cæsar when he entered upon public life. Up to the age of eighteen, or, if we adopt Momsen's theory as to the date of his birth, to the age of twenty, he was under the immediate protection of relatives who were at the time the leaders of a civil war. His uncle, Marius, and after the death of that popular champion, his father-in-law, Cinna, must have looked upon him as a possible heir to their power. He might reasonably have expected to succeed in early manhood to their place at the head of the State, and meanwhile he enjoyed all the advantages of their position. His prospects were most brilliant, and to render them certain, nothing was wanting but the success of his side in the war. Thus his earliest hopes, his first pleasure in success, were associated with the ascendancy of the popular party. The victory of Sylla, again, plunged him into difficulty and distress. His friends and connexions were massacred and their property confiscated. He himself was offered his life only on condition that he would divorce his wife, the daughter of Cinna, and marry some one who would connect him with the conquerors. Pompey had just complied with a similar demand, and it was expected that Cæsar, who had so much more to dread, would be equally subservient. But, as Froude forcibly puts it, "Cæsar displayed always a singular indifference to life. He had no sentimental passion about him: no Byronic mock heroics. He had not much belief in God or the gods. On all such questions he observed from first to last a profound silence. But one conviction he had. He intended, if he was to live at all, to live master of himself in matters that belonged to himself. Sylla might kill him, if he pleased. It was better to die than to put away a wife who was the mother of his child and to marry some other woman at the Dictator's bidding. Life on such terms was not worth keeping." His estate was confiscated, and his name was added to the long list of those upon whose heads a price was set. It was only by chance and skill that he kept himself concealed, until

powerful friends obtained his pardon from the reluctant Dictator. "Take him," Sylla is reported to have said, "since you will have it so, but in this young Cæsar I see many Marii."

The injury suffered by Cæsar from the success of the Senatorial party was of a kind not to be forgotten, even after the lapse of years. The Constitution established after the revolution was, moreover, of a kind which must have been distasteful to him, as thwarting his early ambition. Every precaution was taken to prevent a popular leader from acquiring predominant power. It was enacted that no one should be elected Consul until the age of forty-three, and as the career of a Roman as a statesman or general of the first rank only began with his consulship, this deferred Cæsar's hopes until comparatively late in life. The Senate was filled with new recruits, adherents of Sylla, and to the assembly, as thus re-constituted, was entrusted the control of all public business. The party in power was kept together by a strong bond, the possession of the confiscated estates of the Marians, while the descendants of those executed were excluded from the rights of citizenship. Cæsar was not among these, his father having died before the war, but his situation was so similar to that of the sons of the proscribed as to make him a marked man. He had refused to give the pledge demanded by the conquerors and to enter their confraternity on their own terms. He had therefore little to hope from them. On the other hand the people still retained the power of rewarding their favourites. Sylla did not take away from them the right of choosing the chief officers of the city, to whom reverted the government of the provinces, and some of the other prizes of public life were also in their gift. Though Sylla had introduced among them the emancipated slaves of the proscribed, to the number of ten thousand, they were still, as a body, hostile to his system, and disposed to elect those who showed a power of thwarting its administration. They wished to take, as formerly, the principal part in the government, leaving to the Senate only the control of details, and their active support was given to those who worked with them to this end. It was, moreover, a matter of common observation in Rome, that a leader of the democratic party was a greater man than a leader of the other faction. He was not surrounded by competitors claiming equality, and could, like Marius and Cinna, exercise almost absolute power. Thus Cæsar found that his interest, as well as family tradition, and early associations, was on the side of the people. He could calculate with confidence that his abilities and his connexion with their old leaders would secure their support and favor; while from the nobles he could expect only distrust and hostility. His course was, therefore, mark-

ed out for him by circumstances, and for entering on it he deserves neither praise nor blame.

If we accept the position that Cæsar was, during the first part of his career, a partisan, we must admire the skill, courage and fidelity with which he served his party, and also the strictness with which he observed the rules of political contests. He was not, under the constitution of Sylla, able to enter on public life, in the subordinate position of Questor and Senator, until the age of thirty-two, and nine years later he had, in the ordinary course, to depart from the city to his province. During the short interval, he had, by means strictly constitutional, raised his party from its state of prostration, and placed it in at least temporary ascendancy. Among the means by which this success was achieved, we may notice the detaching Pompey from the Senate, thus making a breach in the solid ranks of his opponents. Pompey's alliance gave to him some security from the violence by which the nobles were accustomed to overawe the popular assembly. The comitia could not be dissolved by bands of gladiators, led by the young patricians, nor would it have been safe to have seized and killed the leader of the opposition, while Pompey was ready to vindicate the law at the head of his veterans. In return for this support, the people voted Pompey, against the will of the Senate, the most extensive powers for foreign war and the suppression of piracy, thus establishing a precedent for interfering in the distribution of patronage of the highest kind. At the same time Cæsar raised the spirit of his party by reviving the memory of Marius, whose trophies he restored to the city. He instituted enquiries into the murders committed in the days of Sylla; and Catiline, among others, was brought before his tribunal. Going further back, he condemned Rabirius, a Senator who, thirty-seven years previously, had killed the popular leader of the day after the Senate had proclaimed military law. Froude says that Rabirius was acquitted, which is not quite accurate; he was found guilty by the Judges, and appealed to the people, who would have upheld the conviction, had not the assembly been dissolved, and then the matter was suffered to drop. Cæsar had thus gained his object, in securing a declaration of the illegality of these proclamations of military law for party purposes, while he avoided the unpopularity of actually punishing an old man for a political crime committed in his youth and in which all the principal men of the State had shared.

The merits of a political leader are, perhaps, best gauged by his conduct in adversity, and we think that Cæsar's action during the Catiline conspiracy proved his courage and his fidelity to the principles of his party. The plot itself was not formed by the old

adherents of Marius, but arose among the victorious followers of Sylla themselves, some of the worst of whom wished to revive the massacres and confiscations with which the Dictator had cemented his power. Cæsar was, therefore, opposed to the conspirators, and he gave the authorities such support as he could, affording the Consul the earliest information, and undertaking the guard of some of the prisoners. But he was placed in a most delicate position when the fate of those arrested had to be determined. The legal course would have been to commit them for trial, and from the verdict there would have been an appeal to the people at large. This procedure would not have been suitable to the circumstances of the case, and no one advocated its adoption. The Consul, Cicero, proposed that the prisoner should be put to death without trial, under the authority of a vote of the Senate, and this suggestion found general approval in the assembly. Cæsar could not join such a vote without acknowledging the right of the Senate to inflict capital punishment in cases of treason, thus renouncing the principle he had vindicated by the condemnation of Rabirius, and handing over to his enemies a power which they might at any moment use against his own life; and yet open opposition to a Government still under the influence of a deadly fear of the conspirators, and also flushed with triumph over the rebels, could not be unattended with danger. Most men in his position would have observed silence, leaving the administration to deal with insurgents at discretion and on its own responsibility. Cæsar had the courage to adopt the bolder course, by maintaining, in the face of the angry Senate, that the conspirators could not properly be put to death without trial. In his clear, logical style he explained that the best punishment for any crime is that prescribed by law, which in this case was the confinement of the prisoners for life and the confiscation of their goods. He reminded the assembly of the evils which followed when governors were hurried by fear or passion into exceeding the law, and he suggested that, if the Consul's proposal were adopted, the greatness of the offence would be forgotten by the people, the illegality of the sentence only remembered. His speech, on this occasion, is the only one made by him before the Civil War of which we have even a meagre report, and it appears to be of the highest excellence. It had the singular effect of convincing some of his opponents; the Consul elect withdrew his vote for death, and Cicero himself wavered, saying:—"If you adopt the opinion of Cæsar, who has attached himself to the party which passes in the Republic as being that of the people, it is possible that a sentence of which he will be the author will expose me less to popular storms." The determined spirit of Cato at length revived the courage of the Senators, and the decree

of death was passed. Cæsar was of course accused of defending the lives of the Conspirators from a perverse sympathy with all treason, or a guilty complicity, and the very calmness of his demeanour was made a cause of reproach, Cato remarking that, if, in their general alarm, Cæsar alone showed no fear, the others had more cause to fear. The knights who formed the guard at last broke into the meeting, and drew their swords on Cæsar, who was saved by Curio and Cicero. * This scene must have raised the enthusiasm of the people for a leader who thus dared to maintain one of their favourite principles at the immediate risk of his life, and could do so with serenity and effect when even those strong in their majority and their guards were agitated. The position, he maintained, was afterwards vindicated by the banishment of Cicero for executing the capital sentence which the Senate then pronounced.

During the year following Cæsar held the office of Prætor, and had further opportunities of showing his skill in defending the weaker cause. The unsuccessful conspiracy of Catiline had strengthened, for the time, the hands of the administration, while the popular party was weakened by the absence of Pompey. The Senate carried things with a high hand, and Cæsar had to resist a double attack. He was, by order of that body, deposed from his office as Prætor, because he had supported a motion that Pompey should be recalled to restore order, and a formal accusation was brought against him of having shared in the conspiracy of Catiline. He repelled both assaults with his usual success. At his instigation, the Tribune Metellus, who had also been degraded from his position by a decree of the Senate, fled to the camp of Pompey, to appeal to the representative of the military power of the State, on the part of the people whom he represented, against what was declared to be an illegal assumption of authority by the executive. Cæsar himself remained at his post, and continued to hear judicial cases as Prætor, until the Senate was about to exclude him from his Court by force, when he voluntarily resigned office, and shut himself up in his house. Two days afterwards the people assembled at his doors, and he had to restrain them from revenging the insult by violence. The position was an awkward one for the nobles; the popular leader intrenched in his house, which, like that of all Romans of his rank, was fortified against sudden attack, riots in the streets, a tribune on the road to call in an army, headed by Cæsar's friend, to vindicate order. It was resolved to make an act of submission; the Senate thanked Cæsar for his respect for the law, and reinstated him in his office. As soon as the fear caused by the disturbance had subsided, the accusation of treason was brought forward, both before

a regular Court and in the Senate. Mobs were again assembled on Cæsar's behalf, as in all Roman contentions a display of force was an element, and to such an extent that Cato secured a grant of more than a quarter of a million sterling a year for distribution of corn to the poor, with the object of buying off opposition.

It may be remarked that Cæsar afterwards, when in power, reduced this grant, thereby showing his superiority in real statesmanship. In the Court and in the Senate he gained a complete victory, securing not only a declaration of his innocence, but also the punishment of his accusers, and even the arrest of the magistrate who, it was found, had no jurisdiction to entertain the charge. The mob, though fed with the Senatorial corn, nearly tore the prosecutor to pieces as he was being conveyed to prison. He thus held his own, repelling all attacks, with loss to the enemy, until Pompey's triumphal return with the army of Asia freed him from danger. He then departed for Spain, to spend the year which had to pass between his prætorship and the time when he could be elected as Consul in the government of that Province.

Cæsar had, when he held subordinate offices, shown how he could conduct a constitutional and yet enterprising opposition. During the year of his chief magistracy he was able to prove his ability in a different position. Since the days of Sylla, there had been many Consuls who, like Pompey and Crassus, had leaned on the people for support, and were denounced as opposed to the Senate, but they had all originally belonged to the Dictator's faction, of which they still, in reality, formed the left. Cæsar was the first member of the party of Marius who reached the highest official rank, and his power during the year of his consulship was necessarily great. He had a majority in the popular assemblies, whether of the tribes or the comitia, an ascendancy over the mob, and, through Pompey, the support of what we may call the army resources, which his official position enabled him to use with effect. His power was, however, limited by certain obvious restrictions. In the first place, it depended, in one essential department, on the co-operation of Pompey, who would not agree in any strong reactionary measure, not even in the restoration of the children of Sylla's victims to their rights as citizens. His office was tenable for one year only, at the expiry of which period he would have to retire to a Province, abandoning to other hands the leadership of the party at home. The Senate, with the support of his colleague, Bibulus, could, according to law, prevent him from carrying any measures displeasing to the nobles, and in practice they could and did make

it very difficult for him to do so. The skill with which he surmounted these obstacles, and succeeded in becoming master of Rome during the year of his office, appears in all the acts of his consulship.

In his first edict he ordered the publication of the *Acta Diurna*, or official minutes of the daily proceedings of the Senate. "The light of day," writes Froude, "being thrown in upon that august body, might prevent honourable members from laying hands on each other as they had lately done, and might enable the people to know what was going on among them on a better authority than rumour." Such control as Cæsar could exercise over the assembly, rested on public opinion, and, to enable him to bring the weight to bear with effect, it was desirable that the best means of obtaining information should be afforded. Having got this hold over the Senate, he proceeded to introduce his celebrated agrarian law. He can scarcely be held responsible for the principle upon which this measure rested, that the *ager publicus* might be re-distributed among the poorer citizens at the pleasure of the State, as it had been accepted for generations by the party to which he belonged. There existed a special reason for applying it at the moment, as the veterans of the armies of Pompey and Metellus had to be provided for, and this could be most easily done by settling them on the land as small proprietors. The details of the law, which were Cæsar's own, were acknowledged to be excellent, and they were framed in the most conciliatory spirit. Cæsar, for the first time, had an opportunity of showing that, though he was obliged, by the very nature of his position, to curtail the power, the abuses, and some of the privileges of the nobles, he had no wish to do them any wrong, and the policy he thus indicated, he adhered to during the remainder of his life. He even made advances to individual Senators, such as Cicero, and to the party generally, with a view to procure their concurrence. But the very name of an agrarian law was odious to the nobles, who could not forget that under the Gracchi such measures had almost ruined their ancestors. They were in actual occupation of the *ager publicus*, which had been held by their predecessors in title for generations, and naturally protested against its being treated otherwise than as their private property, even though they might receive compensation in money for all that was to be taken from them. It is remarkable that Froude does not refer to the particular expedient adopted by Cato in order to prevent the measure from passing, as illustrating his theory that the Republic in its last days presents curious parallels to the England of our own times. Cato had deprived Cæsar of the honour of a triumph for his victories in Spain by talking out the Bill introduced for

the purpose of enabling him to enter the city as a General without forfeiting his right, to become a candidate for the Consulship, and he had recourse to the same tactics when the agrarian law was under consideration. Cæsar, as the Consul presiding over the assembly, had him arrested on a charge of what we would now call obstruction, but, finding that he only lost ground by putting his opponent in the position of a martyr, immediately cancelled his mandate. He had to withdraw the Bill from the Senate, and to submit it directly to the people, with the addition of some new clauses more favorable to the needy than the original measure, and consequently more injurious to the interests of the nobles. When Tiberius Gracchus brought forward his agrarian law, the opposition of the nobles took the form of an armed attack, in which the tribune and his principal followers were killed. To prevent any such attempt on this occasion, Cæsar asked Pompey before the meeting what he would do if the proposal were met by violence, and received the reply that, if others drew the sword, Pompey would bear the shield. The second Consul, Bibulus, and three tribunes interposed their vetos, but the law was nevertheless passed by acclamation, and a resolution that every Senator should be bound by oath to observe it. There was certainly a flaw in the proceedings, inasmuch as the vetos could not properly be overruled ; and as Bibulus, by a well-known expedient, put his veto on all Cæsar's subsequent acts; this objection applied to all the legislation of the Consul. The difficulty was removed by a vote which Cæsar obtained from the Senate before his year of office expired.

It was now evident that Cæsar could carry any law which found favor with the people, in spite of the opposition of the Senate, and no further opposition was offered to his acts, except the vetos of Bibulus. The agrarian law had trenched upon the privilege of the Senate, as it contained clauses for compensation which imposed charges on the Exchequer, and Cæsar followed it up by another money Bill, relieving the contractors for the revenue of Asia from a part of their obligations, the produce of the taxes having proved inferior to expectation. He obtained from the people what the Senate had refused, the confirmation of Pompey's acts in the East. He assumed, through the comitia, the control of certain foreign affairs, declaring the King of Egypt and Ariovistus of Germany allies of Rome. He also passed quite a code of laws, most of which have unfortunately perished, designed, and with success, to reform that much needed change. "There was a law," Froude states, "declaring the inviolability of the persons of magistrates during their term of authority, reflecting back on the murder of Saturninus, and touching by implication the killing

of Lentulus and his companions. There was a law for the punishment of adultery, most disinterestedly framed, if the popular accounts of Cæsar's manners had any grain of truth in them. There were laws for the protection of the subject from violence, public or private, and laws disabling persons who had laid hands illegally on Roman citizens from holding office in the Commonwealth. There was a law against defrauders of the revenue; laws against debasing the coin; laws against sacrilege; laws against corrupt State contracts; laws against bribery at elections. Finally, there was a law, carefully framed, *De repetundis*, to exact retribution from pro-consuls or pro-prætors of the type of Verres, who had plundered the provinces." We should also attach importance to the law as to accounts, which obliged Governors to deposit two copies of their accounts in the principal cities of their provinces. Cicero explains how, "if the ancient right and antique usage were still in force," he would not have been obliged to render any account until he had arranged everything at Rome in a friendly way with the auditors, and he seems to lament that under Cæsar's more strict statute he was obliged to settle on the spot what charges he would debit to the State. Another law freed protected States from the interference of provincial authorities.

With the enactment of these laws ended the first part of Cæsar's life, that which was devoted to the ordinary political contests of the city. His conduct has been attacked by many on the assumption that he was, in all his actions, animated by a desire to pave the way for his future accession to empire. "Such an interpretation," writes a biographer, who had himself gained a throne, "results from the common defect of not being able to appreciate facts in themselves, but according to the complexion which subsequent events have given them." Every act of Cæsar explains itself, for, as all his efforts were successful, the object of each can be understood from the result. He was a partisan, aiming at power for himself and his connexion, and, as a necessary incident, at superseding the faction which, since the days of Sylla, had commanded a majority in the Senate; he was also a patriot, desiring to improve the details of public administration.

There are some who, with Cicero, have considered the popular party of those days as so perversely wrong that any successful action on its side must be denounced as a crime. Others will join with Froude in denouncing Cicero himself for refusing to join with the Reformers. To us it seems that it is impossible to divide parties in this way into the good and bad, the goats and sheep. The line which *divides*, separates parties

in a free State, is drawn where doubt begins to arise in the ordinary mind as to the course which should be pursued ; it is the ridge which separates the watershed of opinion. Cicero held that government by the Senate, with all its defects, was better for the country than the rule of one man, and he considered mere mob law, or the rule of the people assembled in tribes, an institution which could not be maintained permanently. Cæsar would have replied that either an empire or a democracy would be better than the actual oligarchy under which a Verres plundered Sicily, and a Catiline conspired with Gauls for the destruction of Rome. Either view might be entertained by a reasonable man, and the choice between them was probably determined in each individual's case, partly by circumstances, partly by temperament. The timid and the well-to-do were for preserving the existing institutions ; the needy and hopeful favored reform. No man of that generation should be blamed merely because he adhered to one of these great parties rather than the other, and praise for such a selection is equally misplaced. Cæsar's conduct in this part of his life commands approbation, not because he fought the civil battle for the democracy to which he was attached by his character and his connexions, rather than on the side of the aristocracy which had slighted him, and tried to kill him for refusing to desert his wife ; but because, being engaged in the conflict, he displayed constancy, courage and moderation, as well as consummate skill : also because, whenever opportunity offered, he tried to do good to the State generally, independent of party. It may be noticed that his efforts on their behalf had thoroughly satisfied the members of his own connexion, who were perhaps, the best judges. If he had done much for them, in standing by their cause in good times and bad, until he led them to victory, they had also done much for him. In addition to the usual offices held by a Roman statesman of the first class, those of the *qæstors*, *ædiles*, *prætors*, and *consuls*, they had elected him a military tribune, a Pontiff, and High Pontiff, eventually naming him Governor for five years of the two Gauls and Illyria, a command greater than had been held by any pro-consul, except Pompey.

The election of Cæsar to the post of Pontifex Maximus seems strange to modern readers, accustomed to regard the office of a priest from a point of view different to that adopted in Ancient Rome. Among his contemporaries it seems to have excited no remark, except as a proof of his extraordinary popularity at an early stage of his career. We may safely assume that he believed as little of the fables and superstitions which then passed for religion as an educated Bengalee believes of the Hindoo mytho-

logy, but at Rome it was not expected that priests should believe. Cicero, though a professed Deist, eagerly sought, and at last obtained, the position of Augur. The business of Roman priests, if we can apply the name to ordinary citizens chosen on account of political notoriety to hold certain offices, was not to preach or defend a creed, but to hold certain sacrifices, or interpret omens by fixed rules. If any one had objected to perform such duties, he would have had to abandon the hope not only of sacerdotal dignities, but of every office, and indeed of all social intercourse. No public act of importance was performed without sacrifices and auspices, in which the principal official, whether a general, a consul, or a judge, had to take the leading part, and Pagan ceremonies had to be observed by private individuals on a thousand occasions. Thought and speech were free, but action was regulated by rules derived from times when men really believed in Jupiter and Venus, Neptune and Pluto. Such men as Cicero and Cæsar never dreamed of contesting this rule, and it is probable that they approved of it most sincerely. The fables of the ancients are the most charming of fairy tales, and the ceremonies connected with them must have given much grace to daily life. In Rome public spirit and respect for authority were kept alive by the stately ceremonies of the city, which were identified with the national greatness. The philosophers had nothing to offer as a substitute for these, and why should they wish to see them abandoned? Cicero laughs at the idea that he should be supposed capable of believing in the existence of a three-headed Cerberus, or the crossing of the Acheron, while he declares that auspices and sacred ceremonies should be observed for the sake of the Republic. Cæsar, while still a boy, had been made a Flamen; he had written a book on augural law, and another on astronomy, a science then intimately connected with the sacerdotal character. He probably accepted the office of Pontifex Maximus with perfect good faith, in the full intention of discharging its duties; and any such resolution which may have been formed was more than kept when at a later period he used his information and power as the head of religion to reform the calendar. He had no hypocrisy in his character, and appears to have been unnecessarily frank in grounding an argument in the Senate on the allegation that the immortality of the soul was a myth. And he had, as Pontifex Maximus, to do no act of which he in his conscience disapproved. He gave sacrificial banquets, and performed occasional public sacrifices with a perfect confidence that he was taking a dignified part in useful national ceremonies.

The Lord Mayor at a city dinner, or the Earl Marshal at a coronation, cannot be more free than Cæsar on such occasions from all suspicion of wrong.

In the expenses which he incurred, Cæsar was certainly venturesome, but his case must be distinguished from that of the spend-thrift. It appears that he lived very modestly until the beginning of his public career, occupying a moderate house in the quarter called the Suburra, with his mother and family. Once launched upon public life, he regarded his outlay as a merchant does an investment liable to certain risks, but which should ultimately yield great profits. The career of a Roman statesman, taken as a whole, was most remunerative, and, with Cæsar's parts and connexions, ultimate success up to a certain point was almost certain. The expense was at the commencement, as the *Ædiles* were expected to execute public works and give costly shows. The returns did not come until after the prætorship, and in the interval Cæsar was deeply in debt. He, however, was free from all embarrassments before he was Consul, as the prize money gained in the Spanish war more than covered his liabilities. It is a repulsive characteristic of the times that the booty consisted for the greater part of slaves, who were sold in the usual way, for, though Cæsar was more clement than other generals of the day, he had occasionally to observe the rule which reduced the captives of war to servitude.

We may regard with aversion a system under which the popular vote was solicited by the expenditure of borrowed money, and the command thus obtained was used to gain a return by enslaving foreign enemies, but we must remember that Cæsar did not establish this rule, and did his best to abolish it: though he certainly had to follow it while it was in force.

Froude treats with a wise scepticism the scandals as to Cæsar's private life which were circulated after his death. "It is to be observed," he writes, "that the first public act recorded of Cæsar was his refusal to divorce his wife at Sylla's bidding; that he was passionately attached to his sister; that his mother Aurelia lived with him till he died, and that this mother was a Roman matron of the strictest and severest type." As the leader of the democratic party, he was the natural mark for fashionable scandal, which, Cicero tells us, pursued every public man whose appearance gave the tales any appearance of probability. We do not know enough of Cæsar's habits to be able to say that the stories told against him were false, but there is no reason whatever to assume that they were true. The idle gossip of a loose and hostile society certainly connected his name with those of the greatest ladies of the day, with Pompey's wife, and Cato's sister, but there never was any evidence beyond rumour. Froude affects to doubt even as to his alleged connexion with Cleopatra, which stands on a different historical basis: Cleopatra gave her son the name of Cæsarion, and the boy was put to death unde

Augustus, as a possible competitor for the succession. These facts, with the universal tradition of Rome, must be held as affording such proof as the nature of the case admits. An Epicurean by conviction, claiming descent from Venus, adorned with every gift valued by women of the highest class, a wanderer and a conqueror, there is no reason to suppose that Cæsar set to an immoral age an example of immaculate virtue. But there is nothing in what we learn of his private life to alienate from him human sympathy.

Cæsar was forty-one years of age when he departed for his Province, and Froude remarks that it was late in life for him to begin the trade of a soldier. Surprise has frequently been expressed at his success, but the matter can, we think, be explained without casting any doubt on the necessity for an early training in the profession of arms. Every Roman citizen was a soldier, and every Roman statesman looked forward to the command of armies as a necessary part of his career. Even Cicero was obliged to play the general in one campaign, and he acquitted himself with distinction, while the money-lender, Crassus, was only too eager to seize the opportunity of matching himself against the formidable Parthians. There was in Rome no such thing as a civilian, every voter in the comitia was drilled in the ranks, every man of the middle class was a horseman or knight, every Senator an officer of rank. Cæsar himself had more than once seen actual service. At the age of twenty he fought under the prætor, Thermus, against the troops of Mithridates, and at the siege of Mitylene he earned a civic crown, the Victoria Cross of Rome, for saving the life of a fellow-soldier. A little later we find him acting with Servilius against the pirates, at that time no contemptible enemies. Two years afterwards he organised an expedition of his own against some of these outlaws, who had captured him and put him to ransom, and with all his usual success. In reward for these services he was elected a military Tribune at Rome, and he thus had, during his political career, a definite standing as an officer. The Romans always censured those who neglected to study the Greek authorities on military tactics until they were about to attain command, and we may safely infer from Cæsar's diligence in other matters that he was not negligent in this. Knowing that he must, in a few years, be placed at the head of armies, he doubtless took pains to qualify himself in every way for his future position. We learn that he had acquired great skill in military exercises, particularly in horsemanship, and that he was accustomed to practise riding with his hands behind his back. The very war horse he used in his Gallic campaigns had been trained by himself with the greatest care, and would at first endure no other rider. Attentive to

these minor points, we must not suppose him negligent of the more important studies of a soldier. Moreover, he had, before his consulship, commanded in two campaigns in Spain, and with such success as to obtain from an unfriendly Senate the highest military honor it could bestow, a decree for a triumph. When he departed for Gaul, he was not, indeed, like Pompey and Hannibal, men bred in camps and occupied exclusively in war, but he may fairly be compared to the professional soldiers of modern times, who, having studied their art in all its details, and practised it on occasion, rise towards middle life to high command.

In his able sketch of the Gallic wars Froude labours under a disadvantage, inasmuch as Cæsar has himself given an account of this part of his life so clear, modest, and able, that all other historians appear imperfect. Of the military skill with which they were conducted there has been but one opinion in ancient and in modern times. All great generals have read the Commentaries and all agree in testifying to the genius for command displayed by their author. It is to be remembered that the Romans did not possess over the men of western Europe those advantages which, in our days, render encounters between regular troops and barbarians so one-sided, provided the former do but fairly well. They were not physically quite so powerful as their enemies, they were not more brave, or intelligent,* or warlike. Their weapons were but little superior, the difference between one sword or spear and another being in practice trifling. It is true that they had in their favor a higher discipline, the practice of throwing up intrenchments quickly, and the tradition of conquest. But with these moderate advantages other Roman commanders had failed to make any impression on the interior of Gaul, subduing only the weaker tribes on the nearer sea-coast. Cæsar conquered the whole country so thoroughly that it was never afterwards the scene of rebellion, and he also invaded Germany and Britain. The region which had for generations been the object of traditional dread at Rome, was thus made the principal instrument of national power. No conquest of equal value had previously been made in historical times by any General except Alexander the Great, nor can it be said that the achievement has since been equalled.

Froude notices, as a remarkable feature of his campaigns, the smallness of the number of men that Cæsar ever lost, either by the sword or by wear-and-tear. He showed a provident care for his soldiers, sometimes greater than they themselves thought necessary. An illustration of this may be taken from the campaign against Afranius in Spain, where on one occasion the officers got

round Cæsar, and urged him to finish the war by attacking the enemy at an advantage. The soldiers even muttered that, if he would not use such an opportunity and let them fight when they had a mind, they would not fight at his order. But, as Cæsar himself tells us, nothing could shake him in his resolution. He expected to capture the enemy without bloodshed, having intercepted his provisions; why then, he asks, should he unnecessarily lose any of his men? Why expose to wounds soldiers who had served him so well? Why even slaughter the soldiers of Afranius, when he could succeed without taking their lives? This was the line of reasoning which he always adopted, and on several occasions he achieved the highest triumph of the military art, by hemming in a hostile army and compelling it to surrender without a blow. Another characteristic of his campaigns may be mentioned, though it is common to all great generals, the vigour with which he followed up a victory to the utter destruction of the enemy. An unskilled reader is often puzzled, in reading the accounts of ordinary wars, to explain the small effect produced by great battles. The vanquished retreat and the conquerors sit down to besiege some town, until the balance of power is restored. Or, if those worsted are less civilized, they scatter in the wilds to rally again for a fresh attack. Cæsar always found that the force sufficient to break an enemy was strong enough to pursue him to destruction, and no Gallic forest was wide or dense enough to hide a flying army from the pursuit of his heavy-armed legionaries.

The ancients never attacked the character of Cæsar on the ground that he made unnecessary wars against the Gauls, conquering independent tribes or nations which had given no offence. His action in what may be called his foreign policy met with the universal approbation of his contemporaries and their immediate posterity, as it was regulated by the principles then prevalent. It is not to be expected that he should be equally free from criticism in our time, as the morality of all war is now very generally questioned. Froude is exempt from doubts on the subject, aggression and rebellion being, in his view, criminal only when unsuccessful; but others will require a better justification. It is to be noticed, in the first place, that Cæsar had for the commencement of the war a reason which would have justified his action even in the eyes of a Quaker. The Helvetii had resolved to leave their own territory and conquer a country for themselves elsewhere in Gaul, slaughtering or driving away the inhabitants. In order to reach the land which they wished to appropriate, they demanded, and had to force, a passage through Roman territory. This was an attack which the most peaceful Governor would have considered himself bound to repel, and it led to a war which involved

Cæsar in a chain of alliances or enmities. It must, however, be acknowledged that, once launched on the sea of conquest, he pursued his course without hesitation. The expedition to Britain, in particular, can be defended only if we accept the general principle that Romans were justified in making the extension of their empire an aim of policy. Should that principle be allowed? There can, we should think, be no doubt that humanity in general, and the nations primarily affected in particular, derived great benefit from the conquest of western Europe by the Romans. Barbarism gave way to civilization as the imperial eagles advanced, and a solid foundation was laid for the superstructure of modern society. The advance of Gaul in the Arts and in wealth, after the Roman conquest, was so sudden and great as to fill with despair observers of later times, who have to contrast this rapid progress with the slow improvement of countries similarly brought in our own days under the control of a civilized power. Cæsar may well have considered that he could not be committing a crime by benefiting the Gauls, while he increased the glory of his own country. And even the bloodshed which his system caused, may be justified on the ground that it stopped the far greater bloodshed of incessant tribal wars. However we may decide the general question, it would obviously be unreasonable to condemn Cæsar because he had not adopted views as to foreign policy which were unknown to his contemporaries, and even at this day are held only by a small minority.

It has often been noticed, as a remarkable fact, that the Gauls after Cæsar's departure never rebelled, neglecting all the opportunities offered by the civil wars for re-asserting their liberties. This fact shows how thoroughly he had completed his work, not merely by breaking down armed opposition, but also by conciliating the affections of the people. It is to be regretted that the *Commentaries*, so rich in the annals of his military achievements, give but little information as to the policy of his civil administration, and afford no clue to the secret of his success in binding the conquered to him and his country. Napoleon remarks that Cæsar adopted the system of founding the supremacy of the Republic on powerful alliances, making the conquered countries subject to the native States of which he was sure, and leaving to each people its chiefs and its institutions—to Gaul as a whole its general assemblies. The chiefs selected for the government of the different states were not chosen arbitrarily, but from the reigning families of the country. Ambiorix was placed over Liege, Tasgetius over Orleans, Cavarinus over Sens. This plan was, however, followed only during

the transition stage, and in the end Gaul was raised or lowered to the position of an ordinary province, governed partly by Roman delegates, partly by its own municipalities. Such is the usual process of conquest, and we in India are familiar with all its stages; what we want to learn is the method by which Cæsar managed to do the work so much quicker and better than others. All we clearly know is that he raised the vanquished to positions of trust more freely than other conquerors. Cicero tells us that his legions were filled with barbarians, and the Gallic cavalry played a great part in the civil war. They were under the command of two brothers of the tribe of the Allobreges, and to these Cæsar gave not only the highest offices in their own country, with gifts in land and money, but also seats in the Roman Senate. Nor were these exceptional appointments, the number of Gauls introduced by him into the Senate was very large, and was the subject of constant complaint in the city. He thus opened to the more ambitious spirits of the country careers more distinguished than those closed to them by the loss of liberty, and this one fact must have done much to reconcile the people to their fate.

With the end of the period allotted for his government of Gaul came the crisis in Cæsar's life which has for nineteen centuries been the subject of debate. If, as it is still frequently assumed, he wantonly turned his arms against the constituted authorities of his country for the purpose of establishing a despotism, or with any other object, his fame as a party leader, a soldier, and a civil ruler availed him little. The offence with which he is charged, is one for which there is no pardon. It is impossible to admit, as sufficient, the defence forcibly insisted upon in the sketch, that the Roman Government was utterly corrupt, and that he alone could reform it; for a general is not justified in marching on the capital of his own State whenever he thinks he can effect desirable reforms in its administration. Cæsar himself would have repudiated such a plea, as too remote to meet the case, and he has sufficiently indicated in his Commentaries the motives which in fact actuated him, though unfortunately there is no connected statement of his views, probably because the first book of the Civil Wars has perished. He never attacked the State, and desired nothing more than that, in the party conflict between the people and the Senate, the law should be observed, but the Senate, seeing that, if constitutional rules were to be kept, the game was lost, wantonly made war upon him and on the people. The choice left to him was submission in his own name and that of the majority to an armed minority, or the defence of himself and of the State. Submission meant death, not for himself only, but for his friends and colleagues as well, the ruin of

his party, and the establishment of a reign of violence, probably leading to civil war. The choice he made was the only one open to him as a patriot.

In the first place it must be clearly understood that it was not Cæsar's interest to make war, as he was in a position to gain all that he could wish by constitutional means. He had made his arrangements so well that he was completely master of the position. His command in Gaul, granted for five years, had been renewed for five more, and at the end of the latter period he was, under the constitution of Sylla, eligible for a second consulship. The only difficulty in his way lay in the rule which obliged a candidate for office to appear in person in the city, and therefore to resign his provincial command, as it exposed him to the risk of impeachment or assassination during the interval between laying down the military imperium and assuming the fasces of civil authority. This obstacle was removed from his path by a law introduced by the twelve tribunes, afterwards confirmed by another law known by Pompey's name, which gave to him a privilege by no means unprecedented, that of standing for the consulship in his absence. In his case to stand was to be elected, a fact accepted by his contemporaries in all discussions upon the subject. The people had never failed him yet, standing by him in spite of all aristocratic force or bribery, and they were not likely to desert him then, when, returning from a ten years' career of glory, both hands full of money, he asked only for an office to which he had, according to Roman ideas, a moral claim. Even a political opponent of the people might count on their votes at an election, if he stood as a candidate covered with glory so great and recent; how much more their old favourite, friend, and champion? Cæsar was thfore to return as consul, and, according to Roman law, his army would accompany him, to be disbanded by himself. It would share in the most splendid triumph Rome had ever known, a pageant for which an enormous treasure had been accumulated, and which would have impressed on the people a stronger sense of the greatness of Cæsar's victories, and the importance of his conquests. Cæsar had rewarded Pompey's veterans by giving them land under his agrarian law; it is to be presumed he could not do less for his own. The passing of such a measure, against the opposition of the Senate, would at once put him in his old place, as the Consul who could obtain from the people what plebiscites he pleased. He had formerly passed laws for the reform of the administration at home and abroad in every detail, he would be able to do the same again. He had formerly obtained for himself, instead of the roads and forests assigned to him by the Senate, the two Gauls and Illyria: he could use this as a precedent

for greater honours. Whatever he wished, either for the public, or in the way of personal objects, would be within his reach, when, with wealth greater than that of Crassus, fame superior to Pompey's, he held his former position as a Consul and the head of the popular party. Even if we suppose that he aimed at the Dictatorship, that prize would have been obtained by constitutional means. He had, as against Pompey and the Senate, every advantage, as long as the struggle was to be conducted accordingly to law, and he had no motive to tempt fortune and incur odium by plunging into war. The position of the Senatorial party in the civil conflict resembled that of Afranius in the Spanish war, and Cæsar might well ask why, when the enemy must surrender to a blockade, should he expose his soldiers to wounds in battle?

The considerations which deterred Cæsar from drawing the sword were the motives which induced Pompey and the Senate to compel him to do so. They had everything to fear from peace, as he had everything to gain. They were at the time in possession of the government of the city and of the Roman world, except Cæsar's provinces, with the most extreme members of their party in office. The next election would reverse the order of things and place Cæsar with his friends in power. "He will be Consul again," Cicero writes plaintively, "the same man that he was before. Then, weak as he was, he proved stronger than us all: what, think you, will he be now?" The nobles had a vivid remembrance of his first consulship, when his colleague, Bibulus, had to remain a prisoner in his house; Cato was arrested in the Senate for obstruction, and the government of the country, legislative and executive, was settled by Cæsar and the people. Cæsar was then in debt and inferior to many of the Senators in fame as a soldier, even his civil reputation too newly acquired to be founded on a very solid basis; he had since become the millionaire, the greatest of generals, for ten years the most conspicuous figure in the commonwealth. Cicero might well ask, if he achieved so much then, what will he do now? Answering his own question, he declares that Pompey, for one thing, would be sent to Spain, an obvious necessity, as his residence in Rome, while Governor of a distant Province, was unconstitutional, and under the new government would be inconvenient. Cæsar would certainly pass an agrarian law to provide for his troops, as he had done for those of Pompey, and the nobles had always been ready to deluge the forum with blood, rather than suffer an agrarian law. It would be his duty to restore to their privileges as citizens the children of those proscribed by Sulla, a measure much dreaded by the nobles, most of whom

held property which had been confiscated from the victims of those days, the tenure of which would, they feared, be insecure if its legitimate heirs were not excluded from all power. He would probably take order to carry out the policy of his Julian laws, putting down the abuses in the home and provincial administration, from which the Senators derived most of their power and wealth. All his measures would either be adopted by a notoriously reluctant Senate, or simply enacted by a plebiscite, and the prestige of the assembly, as the seat of Government would be damaged in either case. So much was almost certain, and more was highly probable. Cæsar might yield to the agitation for new tables or the general remission of debts. He might repeal the laws of Sylla against the re-election of the outgoing Consuls, and continue in power for an indefinite period, thus altogether subverting the oligarchical system. He might aim at sovereignty. He might massacre his enemies by proscriptions, as they had done themselves in their day. This was a note constantly struck in the chorus of alarm, even after Cæsar's clemency had become notorious, a guilty conscience making the senators timid. Pompey, whose influence at the moment was supreme, had his own special reason for disquiet. Since Sylla's death, he had been the first man in the city, and he knew that on the arrival of Cæsar he would sink to the second place.

It also appears that Pompey and the Senate had made preparations for war long before Cæsar had given the slightest ground for offence. After the destruction of the army of Crassus, a vote had been passed that Pompey and Cæsar should each contribute a legion for service in the Parthian war. Pompey offered a legion which he had lent to Cæsar for the Gallic war, so that both legions came from the camp of the latter general. Cæsar did not object until it appeared that the force was not to be sent to Asia, but detained under Pompey's command at Rome, to be used against himself. Pompey had, moreover, raised his army in Spain to 24 legions, a strength far greater than that required for the protection of the Province. Cæsar, on the other hand, at the outbreak of hostilities, had only one legion in Cisalpine Gaul, the other nine legions under his command being beyond the Alps, a disposition of his army which shows clearly that he had not anticipated the outbreak of civil war. The preponderance of strength was apparently on the side of Pompey and the Senate, who had four legions in Italy, besides new levies which included many veterans, the exclusive command of the fleet and of the sea, the provinces except those assigned to Cæsar, and the advantage of the possession of the capital with its treasures.

That Pompey wished for war rather than the preservation of a peace which would lead to Cæsar's consulship, we have the only reliable evidence, that of Cicero's letters written at the time. Giving an account of their last meeting after he returned from his Province, Cicero writes:—"He spoke of war as certain without giving the least hope of an accommodation." He had a second interview with Pompey a few days later, and after it he wrote:—"Is there no hope of peace? So far as I can gather from his very full expressions to me, he does not even desire it. For he thinks thus: If Cæsar be made Consul, even after he has parted with his army, the constitution will be at an end. He thinks that Cæsar, when he hears of the preparations against him, will drop the consulship for this year, to keep his provinces and his troops. Should he be so insane as to try extremities, Pompey holds him in utter contempt. Not only does he not seek for peace, but he seems to fear it." A little later, he writes to Atticus—"You will say, Persuade Cæsar to give up his army and be Consul. Surely, if he will agree, no objection can be raised; and if he is not allowed to stand while he keeps his army, I wonder that he does not let it go. But a certain person (Pompey) thinks that nothing is so much to be feared as that Cæsar should be Consul. Better thus, you will say, than with an army. But a certain person thinks that the consulship would be an irremediable misfortune." The truth, which is carefully obscured in Cicero's speeches, is here disclosed, and the real cause of the war explained. The people were prepared to use their right to choose their own consuls by electing Cæsar; and, rather than permit them to do so, Pompey and his friends were prepared to overturn the laws by violence.

The resolution having been taken to prevent by force the election of Cæsar, the expedient chosen for accomplishing this object was to declare that his command in the provinces had terminated. If induced to return to Rome as a private citizen before the elections, he could be easily disposed of, as Pompey had, contrary to the law, been permitted to keep two legions near the city. On the other hand, his resistance would give a pretext for the war, for which Pompey told Cicero that he so much wished. Whether the nobles had any reasonable ground for stating that Cæsar's government ended with the year 704 A. U. C., is a nice question of scholarship into which Froude does not enter, further than by saying that their position rested on a convenient displacement of dates. Cicero himself acknowledges that the matter was not clear to him, and as the Trajanian law, on the interpretation of which the matter hinges, has not been preserved, there is now little material for discussion. It is enough to say that all previous arrangements, as, for instance, the law enabling Cæsar to stand for the consulship

in his absence, assumed the continuance of his command until the consular comitia of 705. But the Senators were the interpreters of the law, and they would have gained an advantage had they been able to pass a decree declaring that Cæsar's command was at an end, and that he should lay down his arms. This, however, they were unable to do. No decree could be passed against the veto of the tribunes who represented the people, and they would not permit the Senate to take any action hostile to Cæsar. Thus, whatever the opinion of its individual members, the Assembly as a body could do nothing under the law to proclaim or enforce the view that the command of Cæsar had expired. The nobles could strike at the popular leader only by first expelling or overruling the tribunes, that is, by violating the first principles of the constitution.

While things were in this state, Cæsar made the Senate an offer which must be considered as a crucial test of the sincerity of either party. He declared himself willing to adopt any one of three courses. He would be glad to observe the law by retaining his command until the consular elections, then only six months off, and suing for the consulship in his absence. Failing this, he would give up further Gaul and eight legions, retaining for the half year only Cisalpine Gaul, with Illyria and two legions. Or, if thought more desirable, he would altogether lay down his command and come to Rome as a citizen, provided that Pompey would do the same, or retire to his Province in Spain. His friends added that, if the Senate wished him to be content with Illyria and a single legion, he would raise no objection. At the same time he let it be understood beyond the possibility of mistake, that he would not be induced by threats of illegal violence to step into the trap set for him, by coming to Rome before the elections, while Pompey retained an army at the gates. This he called surrendering himself unarmed into the hands of his enemies, and he informed the Senate that, if an attempt were made to compel him to do this, he would know how, in revenging his own wrongs, to revenge those of his country also. The Senators understood the menace contained in the last words, and there were cries, when the letter was read, "It is war he declares against us." Cæsar certainly indicated that persistence in a certain course would lead to civil war, and, the fact being so, it was well that the truth should be plainly stated to impress it on the minds of those who had to make a decision.

This letter exposes the real issue, free of all irrelevant matter. No reasonable Senator could say that he would prefer the immediate outbreak of civil war to leaving Cæsar for six months either one or two of the ten legions which he had commanded for nine years, or to the simultaneous disarming of the two great generals

of the day. The object of any further resistance was plainly indicated; it was not to deprive Cæsar of his command, but to prevent his election as consul. For it will be seen that Cæsar's three courses alike led to the consulship, which he could attain either as Governor of Gaul, or of Illyria, or as a simple citizen, if not overpowered by military force. In rejecting his offers, the Senate would proclaim to the world what Pompey had already told Cicero in their private conference, that "nothing was so much to be feared as that Cæsar should be consul," that, "if Cæsar be made consul, even after he has parted with his army, there will be an end of the Constitution." Moreover, the particular means by which it was designed to prevent his election would be exposed, namely, the use of Pompey's army, assembled under the pretence of an expedition to Parthia. The case being thus clearly before them, the majority of the Senators were at first disposed to adopt Cæsar's third offer, and they passed a vote that both Cæsar and Pompey should disarm, to the great delight of the people, thereby acknowledging the justice of Cæsar's proposal. But in the end more violent counsels prevailed. The consuls and Pompey revolted against the decision of the Senate, and, instead of commencing to disband, ordered the concentration of their armies. In particular, they called up the Parthian legions from Capua. The Consul Lentulus assured the Senate that, "if, as in the past, they mean to spare Cæsar, and to conciliate his good graces, there is an end of their authority." Scipio stated, on the part of the leader, who could not attend, being with his troops, that "Pompey will not fail the Republic, if he is followed by the Senate; but if they hesitate, if they act with weakness, the Senate will henceforth seek his aid in vain." The threat implied was that he would renew his old understanding with Cæsar, interrupted since the death of his wife, who was his rival's daughter. Thus the Senators were persuaded to vote, in contradiction to their former decision, that "if Cæsar did not disband his army on the day prescribed, he should be declared an enemy of the Republic;" but the decree could not pass, as the tribunes interposed their veto. The tribunes proposed to leave the matter to the people, an offer which was of course disregarded, as that would be to let Cæsar have any terms he pleased. At the next meeting of the Senate it was resolved to use violence to the tribunes, and the Consul warned Mark Antony to leave the curia, "where," he added, "his sacred character will no longer preserve him from the punishment deserved by his hostility to the Republic." The tribune rose, and with characteristic courage declared the power of the people violated in his person. "You want," he exclaimed, "proscriptions, massacres, conflagrations. May the evils which you have provoked fall upon your own heads."

He left the curia, just as it was being surrounded by troops, and with three of his colleagues escaped during the night in the disguise of slaves to Cæsar's camp. On the following day the Senate, having thus got rid of the popular vetos, declared Cæsar a public enemy, proclaimed military law, and voted the levy of 130,000 troops. It was on being informed by the outraged tribunes of this declaration of war, that Cæsar struck the first blow by passing the Rubicon.

It thus appears that it was the aristocratic party under Pompey, not the democracy led by Cæsar, which decided to break the rules of political warfare and to try the fortune of war. The question arises whether, when their violent designs were manifest, it was Cæsar's duty to submit, though in the right, for the sake of peace? Should he, for instance, have conceded the point at issue, by withdrawing his candidature for the consulship? He himself always stated his opinion, that, if he had yielded, his life would have been taken, and we have Cicero's testimony that such was his genuine belief. "They would have it so," he is reported to have said, in going over the field of Pharsalia after the battle. "After all I had done for my country, I, Caius Cæsar, would have been condemned as a criminal, had I not appealed to my army." In such a matter, we may trust his judgment, as he was not a man to exaggerate a danger, and he knew Roman politics as no one else could do. Everything tends to show that his anticipations were reasonable. It had always been the policy of the Roman nobles to kill in some convenient tumult any one who had acquired a dangerous ascendancy over the people and who used his power against the oligarchy.

This policy was acknowledged and defended by as able a man as Cicero, who saw in what we would call the murders of Saturninus, Caius Gracchus and Tiberius Gracchus only a legitimate exercise of a salutary power. More recently he had announced to a correspondent with delight that Milo, as a champion of the nobles, had declared his intention of killing Clodius, who was the popular leader of the hour, and, when the deed was done, he conducted the defence. The Senators were never less under the restraint of any sentiment of respect for life or law than at this moment, as Cicero repeatedly testifies, and they never had such reason to desire violence. What had they ever to dread from Saturninus, the Gracchi, or Claudius, as compared with Cæsar? Moreover they had exceptional facilities for using and defending force in the presence of Pompey's army at the gates. A pretext for an attack on Cæsar could easily be found; in fact there was an impeachment for the acts of his consulship hanging over his head at the moment, and some riot would probably occur on his return.

Neither can we suppose that any submission which he could make, short of the desertion of his own party to join that of his opponents, would have been 'accepted as sincere and final; act in what way he might, his doom would have been the same.

Had his own life only been at stake, it might have been his duty to have sacrificed it to avert civil war. But it is to be remembered that it was the practice of the Roman nobles, when they killed a popular leader, to destroy his followers as well, if they did not take the opportunity for a general massacre of all whom they wished to rob. Three hundred of his friends perished in the sacred enclosure with Tiberius Gracchus, and his remaining partisans were executed afterwards. Three thousand of his party were strangled after Caius Gracchus had been compelled to commit suicide. The vengeance of Sylla almost exterminated the whole nations of the Sabines and Etruscans, so that it would be in vain to make any computation of the number of his victims. Cicero repeatedly asserts that his own friends were not less bent on blood than their fathers had been, and he almost dreaded the triumph of his faction, on account of the horrors to which it would have led. Had Cæsar consented to enter Rome as a private citizen, while Pompey retained his army with the object of preventing by violence the election of a popular consul, all the popular leaders would have been involved in the meditated massacre. Nor would men only have perished, but their cause also. The popular privileges grafted on the constitution of Sylla would have been rooted out, and the counter revolution would have established a narrow oligarchy. To have permitted the sword to be wrenched from his hand by illegal violence, that it might be plunged into his heart, would possibly have shown the virtue of a martyr, but he could not give it up without a crime when he knew that it would be used for the murder of his comrades and the destruction of his cause. Cicero informs us that at this time the populace, and the whole of the order of knights, that is to say, the lower and middle classes, with a considerable number of the Senators themselves, were on Cæsar's side. He thus represented an overwhelming majority in the State, which he could not without guilt abandon to the violence of a small minority.

It would seem that the responsibility for the civil war rests exclusively on the shoulders of Pompey and his party. They desired war, foreseeing that, if peace were maintained, they would be ousted from power; they prepared for it; they made it unavoidable, first by refusing all possible conditions of peace, then by violating the privileges of the people in the person of their tribunes, and in the end they were the first to declare war. It does not necessarily follow that they must be condemned for

accepting this responsibility. Many of them had in their youth fought to establish the system of Sylla, and they might honestly think that they were bound to fight again rather than see the remnants of his Constitution perish. They argued, with much show of reason, that an oligarchy and a despotism were the only forms of Government possible for Rome, and they proclaimed their readiness to violate any law and fight any battle rather than submit to a despotism. Even if, in Rome, where representative institutions were unknown, a democracy could have been established after the dominion had extended, many Senators would have declared that life would not have been worth having in a State so constituted. For a generation they had been, except where Cæsar and Pompey occasionally interfered, masters of the Roman world, managing its treasure, distributing its prizes, making and administering its laws, and they had so ordered their command as to reserve enormous wealth and great power for themselves. Every reader of Cicero's letters must have realised how dear to the members of the oligarchy was this irresponsible power, which they called liberty. It was certainly threatened by the return of Cæsar as consul, and indeed could not have survived his administration. There were approved precedents in Roman history for resisting by force even constitutional measures which tended, as his undoubtedly did, to substitute the rule of the democracy, or of its leader, for that of the Senate, and they might think it their duty to follow in the footsteps of their fathers. The Romans had ordinarily the greatest respect for the law, but their chief men had not hesitated to break it when its observance was inconsistent with the maintenance of their power. In such cases, they held that the good of the Republic, as construed by themselves, was the supreme law. It was, they might have urged, undoubtedly illegal to threaten and drive from the city Tribunes because they exercised in Cæsar's favor their ancient and undoubted privilege of the veto; but this was not so serious an outrage as to put Tribunes to death for introducing to the popular assembly Bills opposed by the Senate, as had been done on three previous occasions. Acknowledging that Cæsar was within his constitutional rights, they might have considered it expedient to wage civil war rather than permit him to proceed in his career. There are issues so important that a party beaten upon them, or about to be beaten, in the ordinary strife of politics, may be excused for appealing to the sword. But, however this may be decided with regard to them, it seems plain that Cæsar was bound to act as he did. Having led his party through years of struggle to the eve of complete success, he could not suffer it to be crushed by the illegal violence of his opponents.

In the civil wars it is remarkable that, while the Italians generally sided with Cæsar, so that the Senators, in spite of their superior force, had to evacuate the country and Cæsar was elected Dictator, the armies, the subject kings, and the cities of the Provinces inclined to Pompey and his friends. This was plainly against their interests, as, whatever we may think of the government of the oligarchy at home, it had been oppressive abroad, while Cæsar's administration of Gaul had marked him out as the champion of those outside the pale of citizenship. The Jews, with their usual penetration, perceived this, and gave him their enthusiastic support while alive, cherishing his memory also after his death. But the other Provincials altogether failed to realize the situation and took part against their only friend. They were accustomed to obey Roman nobles when coming amongst them with the ensigns of office, and they continued to do so, without perceiving that the circumstances had changed. Thus Cæsar had to conquer the Roman world piecemeal; Spain he had to subdue twice, and his successors were obliged to do the work again. It is possible that the subordinate official agents, who benefited by the corrupt administration of the Senate, were able to help Senatorial claimants in their endeavour to obtain possession of the Provinces. Whatever the cause, the result contributed to enhance Cæsar's fame as a soldier, for he was thus compelled to show his superiority in successive campaigns against legions similar to his own, and the best generals that Rome could supply.

Froude shows a characteristic severity in judging the conduct of the defeated, and it must be acknowledged that Cicero, a competent witness, considered that Pompey's strategy was bad from first to last. There is, however, much to be said in favour of his conduct of the war. He believed, with Themistocles, that in a protracted conflict the party which commanded the sea must win, and he therefore acted on the defensive. He succeeded in baffling Cæsar's attempt to force him to a battle in Italy, and effected a retreat with all his forces. The campaign against his lieutenants in Spain so far justified his conduct, as showing how easily Cæsar could dispose of the most formidable army when led by incompetent generals. When at last the two commanders met face to face, Pompey had to play the difficult game of fighting with a force felt to be inferior in the open field. With the aid of entrenchments he held his great adversary at bay, until, seizing a favourable opportunity, he actually gained a victory at Dyrrachium. Cæsar had to trust for safety to the wonderful marching power of his legions, then more useful in flight than it had ever been in pursuit, while he himself, as usual, kept the post of honour, which was at the moment the command of the rear guard. His junction with

Calvinus was little more than a happy accident ; had the fortune of war been adverse, his lieutenant would have fallen into Pompey's hands. In the end Pompey risked a battle in the open, only when he had every advantage, fighting with the prestige of his recent victory and close to his fortified camp, after Cæsar had prepared to march away. The actual combat at Pharsalia was decided by the valour of the troops in a hand-to-hand encounter, the generals contributing little besides the encouragement of their presence. Pompey quitted the field as soon as it appeared to be going against him, because he had to look to the safety of the camp ; and one must refuse to credit the report, though adopted by Hirtius, and given as a fact by Froude, that he lay down supinely in his tent, after he had himself declared that he was about to see the guards posted at the several gates. When it appeared that the camp itself could not be defended, his only resource was in flight.

To Cicero also it seems to us that Froude has done but scant justice. He describes the great orator as a tragic combination of magnificent talents, high aspirations, and true desire to do right, with an infirmity of purpose and a latent insincerity of character which neutralised and could almost make us forget his nobler qualities. In enumerating the virtues of Rome's greatest civilian, our author has omitted to notice his amiability and kindness to all connected with him, which appears so prominently in his devoted affection to his daughter, his provident care for the interests of his brother and relations, his tenderness even for favourite slaves. As a writer, he has discussed every moral theme, and, though a Pagan, has earned the praise awarded " to him who uttered nothing base." He must have possessed an extraordinary delicacy of taste and sentiment to have been able to exhaust the field of speculation without putting forward a view repulsive to Christian and modern feeling. This is, perhaps, more than can be said of any other Pagan philosopher, even of Socrates, Plato or Aristotle. As a statesman, his letters prove that he possessed wonderful sagacity, he foresees almost every important turn in the shifting politics of the city, and, when at the helm, steers with the utmost skill. We cannot admire too much the courage, pertinacity, and ability with which, after the murder of Cæsar and the flight of the assassins, he fought the hopeless battle against the natural heirs to Cæsar's power, playing one against the other, until at last they combined to ruin him. The charge of infirmity of purpose rests on his conduct in the first civil war, during which his letters show that he lived in an agony of doubt as to what course he could pursue consistently with duty and honour. But in that particular case the circumstances were such as to make hesitation natural and a certain lukewarmness desirable. It is not merely that neither party

possessed his sympathies, but each excited his active aversion. Cæsar was to him a political opponent, representing a party and principles which he had combated all his life, surrounded by partisans whom he regarded as personal enemies, and pursuing a career which, if successful, would, as he foresaw, probably lead to the rule of one—a form of Government which his education and his position made him regard as detestable. He knew the great qualities of the man, and knew that Cæsar regarded him with admiration, if not with affection; but he had a real and honest disbelief in the cause.

We think that Froude, in maintaining that Cicero is to be condemned for not supporting Cæsar, fails altogether to realize the strength of party ties and early connexions in political life, or to allow for the legitimate divergence of opinion on such difficult a subject as the form of Government to be adopted when the circumstances of a country have so changed as to render the old constitution unworkable. On the other hand, Cicero could not give a hearty support to Pompey and the Senate. He was absent in his provinces when they entered on the course which led to the collision, and on his return his advice was disregarded. He held strongly that they had no legitimate cause for making war; that they should have let the elections take their course, and permitted Cæsar to enjoy his second consulship.

Not, as he explained, that he did not fear what they feared, the power of a democratic Consul, supreme in ability and popularity, and supported by his veterans; but that he considered the evils of war greater still. Nevertheless he acted with his associates until they abandoned Italy, when he thought that he would be most useful by assuming for a time a position of neutrality, and endeavouring to make peace, while it was yet possible to preserve some fragments of the constitution.

To the last he tried to prevent his friends from continuing to support a losing cause, and by their obstinacy rendering impracticable a restoration of the Republic. If a patriot could not have supported Cæsar, he would have been with Cicero, though the part he had to play in the shock of legions was so invidious and so open to misconstruction. In every other crisis he displayed firmness and decision. He held a wavering Senate to his policy in the Catiline conspiracy, and, if he erred, it was on the side of too great vigour and severity. He engaged without hesitation in a death struggle with Mark Antony, and paid the penalty of defeat with philosophic constancy. Although averse to military employment, he fought his only campaign with energy and success, earning from the legions the coveted title of Imperator.

Froude finds evidence of his want of firmness even in his bust; after describing the broad brow, the tightly compressed lips, and the keen features, he instances the loose, bending figure, and the neck, too weak for the weight of the head, as explaining the alleged infirmity of will. We should rather say that the lines of the mouth indicate strength of purpose, while the slight stoop speaks of the habits of the student.

The minor actors in the Cæsarian drama are treated by Froude with startling injustice, particularly when they oppose his hero. Cicero somewhere speaks of Senators who cared so little for public affairs as to think themselves happy as long as they had carp-tame enough to feed from their hands; and Froude, applying to a class a jest aimed at individuals, denounces the Roman nobles in a body as idle, luxurious, cowardly, and corrupt. They were, he tells us, openly bribed on the Bench; the elections had become a mere matter of money; the provinces were plundered by the Governors; even the integrity of the Empire was betrayed to foreign invaders. This appears to be a most mistaken view of the character of the last chiefs of the Roman Republic. Many of them committed great political crimes, which have been reported to posterity in an exaggerated form, by their political enemies, but the general conduct of public business compares favorably with what we know of other ancient nations. It is said that the judges were bribed to acquit Claudius of sacrilege, but the principles of legal justice had never at any previous epoch been so closely studied, so generally respected, or so widely extended. The very scandal which the report of bribery in this instance caused, the cry which arose that the State was ruined, as the judges had been bought, shows that judicial integrity was then the rule. If the prevalence of bribery at elections proves general corruption, our own fathers must have been in a bad way; even now bribery is kept down amongst us rather by penal laws and mechanical contrivances than by public opinion. The accusation of lethargy and indifference to public affairs is altogether misplaced. The last of the republicans seem to have been prodigies of activity and energy, we must wonder at the amount of work which they achieved. Cæsar and Cicero were only the most conspicuous examples of the ardour, diligence, and versâtility which characterised the class to which they belonged. The Senator in the provinces undertook the whole business of the Government of his district, levying, providing, and leading the armies, hearing the principal criminal and civil causes in person, and managing the finances. In Rome itself he had to take his share in the great work of administration, to sit continually as a judge, to protect the interests of his clients, and often to act as an advocate.

besides managing his private property, which generally consisted of large farms cultivated by slaves at his own risk and under his control. The keen competition among public men developed all their powers, and scarcely one is mentioned who does not appear to have shown courage and activity. Thus Bibulus, whom Froude calls a "dull, obstinate fool," made an excellent admiral, and inflicted great loss on Cæsar in the civil war, until he died of voluntary exposure to cold and wet, in the performance of his duty. Crassus, the millionaire, gained the great object of his ambition when he was appointed to command in the dangerous campaign against the Parthians: The effeminate Claudius risked his life daily in civil tumults. Most of Cæsar's lieutenants, the agents of his labours, were Roman nobles, a Fabius, a Junius, a Sulpicius, a Pedius, or a Fufius, and the members of several great plebeian families are mentioned as his principal officers. The resistance which the Senators of the opposite party made in the civil war proves their obstinacy and courage; many of them defended province after province, after hope seemed extinct, and died at last upon their own swords. The Roman treasury, we are told by historians, was never so rich as when Cæsar took possession of it, and the State never produced another generation so eminent for conquests, for literature, and for philosophy. Cæsar was the first man, not in an age of apathy and stagnation, but in one prodigal in the development of every talent and energy.

Froude is so fond of heroes who exhibit their power by committing acts of striking severity or cruelty, that he fails to bring out with due effect the most admirable trait in Cæsar's character, his clemency to the vanquished, and his readiness to forgive injuries. Indeed, our author is at pains to find out that even Cæsar had sometimes to punish, that he had to storm the town of Gomphi, to put Publius Ligarius to death for treachery after pardon, and even, as is stated with much appreciation, to put a slave in chains for making bad bread. A general cannot dispense with the occasional resort to force, but it was admitted even by his enemies that Cæsar's mildness was extraordinary. The Romans had always been cruel in their civil wars, never more so than in those of Sylla and Marius, of which this was the supplement. The Pompeians were resolved to follow the old precedents, and Cicero frequently tells us how much he dreads the victory of his own party, on account of the excesses by which it would inevitably be followed. In the course of the war they executed the prisoners that fell into their hands, as the sailors captured by Bibulus, and the soldiers taken at the battle of Dyrrachium. Cæsar had every provocation to imitate this severity, and Cicero was of opinion that he would prove more bloody than

Cinna, more covetous than Sylla of the property of others ?" Yet he showed a forbearance of which in similar circumstances history affords no other example. Soldiers and officers captured were simply dismissed to their homes. Senators were ordered to reside in their villas until the close of the war, when they were reinstated in their high position. Even his own lieutenant, Labienus, when leaving his camp, was not treated as a deserter, the character which Froude assigns him, but as a general who, having served his commander with fidelity in foreign campaigns, exercised an undoubted right of conscience in choosing his side in a civil war. "You judge rightly of me," he proudly wrote to Cicero, after his first act of clemency, "that nothing is further removed from me than cruelty ; and as I had a great pleasure in what I did for its own sake, so I rejoice and triumph to find my action approved by you. Nor does it at all move me that those dismissed by me are said to have gone away to renew the war against me ; for I desire nothing more than that I may act like myself, they like themselves."

It has occasionally been maintained that Cæsar's proverbial clemency is not to be reckoned a merit, because it was sound policy—as if no quality were to be considered virtuous if it is useful. Cruelty in war is not the result of calculation, but of passion and apprehension. Ordinary men lose all sense of justice, prudence, or pity, when they find themselves struggling with their fellow-citizens for life and power. They are unsparing, not through any sober conviction that they will thereby benefit themselves or their party, but because they are alarmed and angry. It was Cæsar's peculiarity to differ from other conquerors in this, that he was undisturbed by fear or resentment, and able to pursue his ends with constancy, without forgetting human kindness. He possessed in its highest degree the elements of magnanimity. It was not his aim simply to subdue his enemies and reign over Rome as the head of a conquering faction : he wished to gain them to his side, and, with the assistance of the noblest Romans of all parties, to reorganise the State. There is a certain grandeur in this ambition, which looks beyond immediate victory, and aims at a higher triumph, that of conciliation. And no virtue is more worthy of admiration than the self-command which enabled him to pursue the course which he had marked out, without being drawn from it by the greatest provocation of obstinacy or ingratitude.

Had the course of politics been allowed to flow in the ordinary channel, had Cæsar been elected to a second consulship after the conquest of Gaul without armed opposition, it is probable that he would have obtained for life a practical supremacy in Rome.

Jealousy of the elevation of individuals was confined to the Senate, each member of which resented the superiority of a man of his own order: the democratic party had always favoured the concentration of power in the hands of one man. Marius and Cinna had been placed at the head of the general administration; even Pompey had received, by popular vote, a command so extensive as to be, in the opinion of the nobles, inconsistent with the maintenance of the constitution. The people, assembled in the mass, could not govern themselves, and, as they did not trust the Senate, they were willing to delegate their powers to a leader. This tendency had increased year by year, as the boundaries of the State extended, and its business multiplied. Cæsar would have found the comitia more ready to exalt a favorite than it had been at any previous time, and his extraordinary qualifications, of ability, popularity, wealth, influence over the army, and military renown, placed him in a very different position from that occupied by any of his predecessors. The civil war greatly increased this tendency towards a Dictatorship. The reputation of all rivals had been impaired, while that of Cæsar had been enhanced. His name alone was associated with victory in the case of soldiers, with authority in those of the provincials. The Senate had to be re-constituted, and the State organised anew. Cæsar alone had the power to perform the task. His supremacy had become a necessity of the times; while he lived, no other hand could have directed the State. We do not find a trace of opposition to his rule, outside the Senatorial order; all proposals conferring on him offices and commands were passed by the Assembly as of course. It is to be remembered that the Roman people were not, at this time, easily influenced to vote for the ruling power against their own wishes; Pompey and his friends, with their armies at the gates, or even in the Forum, could never obtain a plebiscite in their own favor as against Cæsar, and nothing had since occurred to break the spirit of the citizens. It was they who had armed Cæsar with their authority at the commencement of the war, and they felt that they shared in his victories. They voluntarily vested him with further powers for the good of the State, and, in accepting these, Cæsar took only what was freely offered by those who had the right to give.

Cæsar probably saw, what was plain to Cicero and others, that by accepting the power pressed upon him by the people, he was setting a precedent which would be fatal to the Republican form of government. But he might reasonably consider that the continuance of the Republic was not desirable, or even possible. The Roman constitution had been made for the government of a single town, and, however well adapted to its original purpose, it had not proved a success when applied to a State consisting of many

countries, united only by conquest. An oligarchy of Senators could certainly administer such a community, but experience showed that they could not do it well. It may be doubted whether a democracy, acting otherwise than through a supreme chief, could have governed the Roman world at all. The expedient of representative institutions had not then been discovered, and the only form of popular government understood, the decision of important questions by such of the citizens as could meet in one place, in a mass, does not seem adapted in any way to the circumstances of an extended empire. Moreover, though the Romans, and, in a less degree, the Greeks, of the day were attached to the Republican system, the vast majority of Roman subjects did not understand it, and would have preferred a monarchy. Cæsar was not, however, called upon to decide directly on the permanent form of government. He had merely to obey the necessities of the times, and to accept temporarily the power which events had forced upon him: All the old institutions continued, the Senate and assembly passed decrees, consuls and prætors were elected, and passed in due course to their Provinces, while Cæsar's supremacy over all was the result of an influence over the minds of electors and candidates of which he could not divest himself. The constitutional opposition occasionally attempted by tribunes and others was never punished, but laughed down. The small demagogue appeared ridiculous when he attempted to thwart the representative of the people, at the head of twenty legions. Cæsar's remark on granting a favour, "I confer it, as far as the tribune Pontius will allow me to do so," was felt to dispose sufficiently of a troublesome opponent. Cæsar held undisturbed possession of power for one year only, and during that time he had to perform much business of urgent importance which could not be postponed, so that he had little time for the development of his permanent policy. Many of his edicts must be taken as little more than indicating the objects at which he aimed, and which he would have tried to attain, had he been spared to complete his task. He quieted the uneasy fever generated by the struggle for office by arranging for appointments some years in advance. He admitted the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul to the full privileges of citizens, those of Sicily to what was called the Latin Right, and he granted very freely, in all the provinces, the municipal franchise, by means of which the leading men of each town were gradually raised to the position of citizens. He reconstituted the Senate, raising its number to nine hundred, and he took the opportunity to introduce into it a number of Gauls, and other Provincials. The assembly, which had been little more than a chamber of Roman nobles, was thus changed into an imperial council, and made a fit instrument for the government of the

Roman world. The general scheme of the Roman empire, worked out in detail by Augustus, was sketched by Cæsar, but in a more liberal spirit than that in which it was executed by his less gifted and less generous nephew. He reduced the allowance of corn to the Roman populace, and settled many of the poorer citizens in the country. He adjusted debts to the altered value of the coinage, which had risen with the lavish expenditure of the civil wars. He passed sumptuary laws to repress luxury. The permanent utility of his reform of the calendar, on the system observed with slight change to this day, shows to what excellent purposes he could apply a power apparently so remote from the business of daily life as that of his office of Pontifex Maximus. The most difficult task which he set himself was to counteract and reverse the economic tendency which then threatened, and in the end accomplished, the ruin of the Roman world. Italy and Greece, with southern Europe generally, had, some generations back, been cultivated by peasant proprietors, or small landowners working farms by hired labour. This applies particularly to the soil of the Roman State, which was never broken by helots or slaves. The system had worked admirably, and under it a vast population was maintained in health and independence, industrious, frugal, and warlike. With the extension of the empire, larger farms were established, generally in grass, which were owned by nobles, worked by slaves. It was found that, in competition with small holdings, these were successful, in the sense of yielding a larger return to the proprietors, and by degrees almost all the peasant owners were bought out. The soil, first of Italy, then of the Roman world generally, was in the end cultivated by slaves, for the benefit of slave-owners. Agriculture, which among the old Romans was considered the most honourable of occupations, which was the theme of the poets, and the recreation of heroes, came to be regarded as servile work, and was abandoned by freemen, even where it was remunerative. The citizens congregated in towns, leaving the country to the slaves. This tendency was seen and deplored by all observers of economic facts, both before Cæsar's time and afterwards; he was the last to make any serious attempt to check the evil. He passed an agrarian law, on the old model, that is to say, a law for the forcible division of certain large farms among disbanded soldiers and other needy citizens, who wished to be established at the cost of the State as peasant proprietors. Such measures were more practicable in Rome than in other States because a considerable part of the land was considered public property, though settled with large proprietors until required for other purposes. To promote the increase of the free population, which was becoming dis-

proportionately small, he did what he could to encourage marriage, and he offered privileges to fathers of large families. This may seem strange to us, as in our days the population increases only too rapidly; but it doubtless met a want of the times. Lastly, he made a law to the effect that no farmer should employ in cultivation a number of slaves double that of his free labourers. This law contained the true solution of the problem. Slave labour could not be abolished, except by the revolutionary, and then impracticable, method of emancipation, as there were not enough of freemen to till the lands. But a maximum proportion could be fixed, to be afterwards raised by gradual steps. The law perished with Cæsar, and Rome never again produced a man bold and powerful enough to grapple with the blind force which was destined to destroy her. Augustus was the successor of Cæsar, but not of the Gracchi. He was content to introduce order and uniformity, without endeavouring to check social and economical evils, in the end worse than the competitions of war and party. Had Cæsar lived long enough to enforce his own laws, and conciliate public opinion to their side by showing beneficial results, the event might have been different. His heirs might then have carried out his economic, as well as his administrative, policy, and the decay arrested which weakened Rome, until she fell a prey to weak barbarians, whom her legions had vanquished a hundred times. It may be that the assassins of Cæsar really destroyed Rome's only chance of permanent prosperity.

In order to understand the position of Cæsar's assassins it is necessary to bear in mind that the belief in tyrannicide as a virtue, now confined to the members of certain secret societies, was generally entertained by the best of the ancients.

By tyranny was meant, not misgovernment, but the assumption of supreme power in a State once free. Such an act, it was argued, is a crime, deserving death: and as it cannot be punished by the law, the very usurpation itself putting an end to all laws against tyranny, the execution must be left to private hands. With a truer insight into the principle of morality, Cicero maintained that tyrannicide was useful, as the practice must act as a deterrent. No one would care to attack the liberty of his fellow-citizens if convinced that his success in obtaining a crown would make him the mark for a thousand secret daggers. It is not easy to say how such a principle may have worked where it originated, in the small Greek communities always liable to destruction by the ambition of some too powerful member. Experience has since shown that, applied to large States, such as Rome, it is pernicious. The dread of assassination does not deter aspirants to

power, but makes them cruel and suspicious when their end is attained, thereby causing much misery, and leading to a rigorous despotism. The Roman nobles amplified the Greek doctrine, maintaining that it was proper to assassinate not only those who had attained to the throne, but whoever, by cultivating the favour of the multitude, showed a disposition to raise himself above his peers. It was in conformity with this doctrine that Spurious Melius was killed by Ahala, an ancestor of Brutus; that Saturninus, and the Gracchi were put to death. These precedents had really been injurious to the cause of liberty, for, while the danger they were designed to avert was at the time imaginary, they did not, when the moment arrived, prevent Cæsar from entering on his career, but rendered the civil war inevitable; for, but for the knowledge that his life was aimed at, he would have peacefully awaited his opportunity in a second consulship. Nor did Cæsar's assassination prevent his heir and his lieutenants from aspiring to succeed him, and contending by arms for the place left vacant, but only had the effect of inducing them to make their position safe, by first putting all who were supposed to hold this dangerous principle to death. It is, however, to be remembered that the futility and the bad effects of killing usurpers had not, in the days of Cæsar, been proved by historical facts. Tyrannicide was then regarded with approval by the best moralists, and had been sanctioned by more than one Senatorial decree. Now Cæsar was undoubtedly a tyrant, in the classical, and, particularly, the Roman, sense of the word, as he had, by the aid of the people and the army, acquired a mastery over his fellow nobles. It followed that, in the opinion of the Senators, he could properly be killed. Cicero, therefore, only followed the accepted principles of the day, when he maintained that the assassination was justifiable. The mistake lay in supposing that such sanctity is attached to any particular form of Government as to render its subversion a crime, even when achieved by the people themselves, or, with their consent, for the good of the State; also in believing that such acts, if crimes, can with utility be punished in this particular manner. This error was inherited from a long line of speculators and actors; its nature had not then been exposed, and no Roman of the period can be blamed for having fallen into it.

Froude adopts the statement that Cæsar, in his last days, was weary of life, and therefore neglected all precautions against assassination. It is pleasant to know, on the authority of Cicero, that Cæsar considered he had lived long enough for nature and for glory, and was indifferent to death, provided only that it might come on him unexpectedly; but it seems that he took such care of his person as became a brave, but prudent, man in his position.

Cicero gives in one of his letters an account of a visit paid to him in his villa by Cæsar, and on that occasion we find the Dictator accompanied by a considerable force of soldiers, in addition to his friends, freemen, and slaves. As he passed Dolabella's house, Cicero noticed that the guard marched close by his horse's side, which was not done elsewhere. Dolabella being, as the future was to prove, a dangerous man. Here we see that he took such measures for his safety as would appear suitable to a modern king, when rumours of plots might be rife. The only rash act alleged is his discontinuing the guard, which at first attended him in the Senate house, and for this there were probably sound reasons. A Roman Emperor had to frequent the Senate as inevitably as a modern sovereign his ball-room, and the presence of a guard would have been as unpopular and inconvenient in the one case as in the other. He took care to provide against the ordinary forms of assassination, against the blow of the hired slave in the street, or the ambush of gladiators on the road ; and he believed that none of the nobles would have the desperation to attack him openly in the hall of council. He was, indeed, safe against every thing but a conspiracy so wide-spread, and including officers so highly placed in his government, as to give the criminals a prospect of impunity. Such a plot may have seemed improbable, for few could suppose that a number of his friends would prove traitors, and, if it were formed, the chances were against the secret being maintained. The risk, such as it was, could not have been averted without a disproportionate sacrifice, and it was therefore best to incur it freely.

It is possible to regard the opinion of Cicero and of most ancient writers, that Cæsar was justly slain, as merely a mistaken view upon what was then a difficult moral question ; but the actual assassins committed an act of the greatest baseness. They all held high office under Cæsar's government, and acquired from their position the facilities of access and the power of averting immediate punishment necessary for the perpetration of the crime. If Cæsar was a tyrant, they were the agents of his tyranny. Marcus Brutus and Cassius were his prætors, Decimus Brutus and Trebonius his governors designate of great provinces, the others his Senators. Most of them had been Pompeians, and had earned their posts by deserting their party after its fall, to join the conquerors with the loudest professions of zeal and attachment ; others were old adherents of Cæsar, who, having helped to build up his power, turned against him because dissatisfied with the very liberal reward of their services. All were actuated by what Mill correctly calls the most anti-social of human feelings, envy ; while themselves slave-owners, and despising the crowd, they

were jealous that any one should be acknowledged as their superior. They were ordinary criminals, animated by the motives which lead to private murders, and in the interest of justice it is a matter of congratulation that none of them escaped the murderer's punishment. After a period of miserable suspense they were all hunted down and killed, or forced to destroy themselves to avoid a public execution.

Froude makes no attempt to assign to Cæsar any particular place among the world's great men, and the only comparison he suggests is not a happy one, even if it be free from a more serious defect. "Strange and startling resemblances," he says, "will be found between the fate of the founder of the kingdom of this world, and of the founder of the kingdom not of this world, for which the first was a preparation. Each was denounced for making himself king; each was maligned as the friend of publicans and sinners; each was betrayed by those whom he loved and cared for; each was put to death; and Cæsar was also believed to have risen again and ascended into heaven and become a divine being." An author does himself little credit by seeking for such "startling resemblances," and the reference in this connexion to the attacks on Cæsar for associating with such pleasing sinners as Cleopatra must excite a smile by its very indecorum.

Cæsar was very human, and there is something singularly out of place in attempts to set him on a divine pedestal. Bacon, perhaps, gave him his true rank in describing him as the most complete figure in ancient history, and it might be added that the world has not since produced his equal in this respect. Most of the conquerors who approach him in achievements have something repulsive in their recorded characters; they were cruel, or destitute of social and family feeling, insincere, selfish, unjust or simply vulgar. "Power in other men," as Mark Antony said at the Dictator's funeral, "brought their faults to light; in Cæsar it only brought out his excellences." There have been many men irregularly great; he alone, as Bacon puts it, was complete. We do not refer merely to the versatility of his genius, which enabled him to play with success so many parts, as the party politician and the absolute ruler, the soldier and the legislator, the author and the orator. His superiority consisted, not in his intellectual vigour only, but in his moral qualities, his calm but chivalrous courage, his kindness to all about him, his perfect truthfulness, and what Cicero calls his admirable clemency. Wherever we catch a glimpse of him, we recognize the model gentleman, playing the game of life with ease and enjoyment, with perfect fairness, and deserved success. It was his fate to fill a succession of positions, each very trying to temper and general

character, but circumstances could not destroy the mildness and sweetness of his disposition. He suffered unjust persecution from Sylla without growing bitter; led the people in a prolonged agitation against the established form of government and yet caught no stain of insolence or falsehood; governed provinces as a conqueror for nine years without becoming despotic; waged a prolonged civil war without cruelty, and founded an empire without ceasing to make his first object the welfare of his country. We see him, on the day of his assassination, the same amiable, friendly man who in his youth won the love of the people, easily persuaded to sacrifice his arrangements to please the supposed friends who led him to his fate; and the dauntless courage of his character, mingled with its not unpleasing personal vanity, was marked in his last act, the arrangement of his dress after he had received a mortal wound, that he might fall decently. Prosperity could not spoil him, as Mark Antony observed, because it only placed him in his proper place, and the other evil influences to which he was exposed left him unscathed. The greater part of his life was spent in sharp political or military struggles, during which his attention was generally absorbed in the contest of the moment; but at intervals we catch flashes of a higher purpose than mere success, of a magnanimity that raised him above the ordinary level of humanity. Thus the use he made of his power during his first consulship to pass a number of useful laws, unconnected with party-objects, showed how much he had studied, while in opposition, the defects of the administration, with a view to remedying them whenever he obtained the chance. His policy of favouring the provinces was carried far beyond the point to which it could have been useful to him, and amounted to a sacrifice of his own interests for the general good. The same remark applies with equal force to his crusade against the use of slave labour instead of free. On the whole, we must look upon Cæsar as being the greatest of all historical characters, and entitled to the reward for which Cicero tells us that he always looked, the admiration of posterity. "Your mind," the great orator said, in addressing him, "was never content with the narrow bounds of this life assigned by nature, but inflamed always with an ardent desire of immortality: nor is this, indeed, to be considered your life, which is comprised in the body and breath, but that which is to flourish in the memory of all ages, which posterity will cherish and eternity itself propagate."

ART. V—HIGH EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

THE object of what is known as liberal education is to make men intellectually qualified for the satisfactory performance of those actions, egotistic and altruistic, which are essential to the conservation and advancement of the individual and society. Its object is not to make medical men, and engineers, lawyers and artisans, however important these several professions may be to the well-being of society; but its object is to make men qualified to be anything, and everything—to be philosophers and poets, statesmen and merchants and traders; blacksmiths, carpenters and shoemakers; its object, in short, is to fit men to perform well whatever part their destiny calls them to play on the stage of the world.

The end of any system of liberal education accordingly divides itself into two parts. The first has reference to the subjects of instruction that should be embraced by it, the second to the development of the intellectual faculties. Whatever be the position occupied by an individual in the social scale, in order to fill it with advantage to himself and profit to society, he must first possess a certain complement of systematized truths regarding nature and man; secondly, he must possess the power so to see and to foresee as to make his purposes steer clear of the Scylla and Charybdis of disturbing agencies. A man who has no knowledge of the fundamental forces at work around him, or who lacks the power of adapting his actions to the exigencies of surrounding conditions, must needs be a failure—be he a soldier or a statesman, a carpenter or a cobbler.

What are the branches of science a knowledge of which is indispensably necessary to every individual? An eminent thinker of England has treated of this question; and, as I consider his conclusions legitimate, I cannot do better than substantially adopt his classification, for the grounds whereof the reader is referred to J. S. Mill's *Address to the University of St. Andrews*. He is also advised to go through Herbert Spencer's essay, entitled, *What Knowledge is of most worth?* and also through Comte's *Classification of the Sciences*, which, although crude and 'antagonistic to the very essence of science' (to quote Huxley) in some parts, is, in the main, a profound exegesis of the development of scientific ideas. Logic—the *scientia scientiarum* of Bacon—as concerned with ratiocination and induction; Mathematics, as teaching us the mysteries of number and quantity; astronomy, as revealing

the forces that sustain the starry framework ; physics, as concerned with the laws of the most common agents in nature ; chemistry, as unfolding the laws of the molecular combinations of things ; biology, as expounding the conditions of life and death ; psychology (including Ethics), as revealing the nature of the ' mechanism of thought and feeling,' and finally, sociology, as exposing the action and reaction of social forces—these should be included in a programme of liberal education, and not one of them can be left out without seriously impairing its efficiency. The classification is exhaustive—there is no class of phenomena which cannot be explained by the fundamental laws embraced by these sciences. They constitute, in certain language, the hierarchy of the abstract sciences, every other science being concrete, and the phenomena embraced by it standing in the same relation to those forming the subject matter of the abstract sciences that chemical compounds bear to the elementary substances.

On the other hand, as any common phenomenon in nature may be the result of the combined operation of many laws, each of which falls under a separate department, so a right understanding of nature must depend upon a knowledge of *all* the sciences concerned. A man falls from an eminence and breaks his leg and suffers. Here the operation of four kinds of laws is distinctly traceable : (1) loss of support, causing him to fall (astronomical) ; (2) the violence of the fall, disturbing the molecular cohesion of the limb (physical) ; (3) the disturbance of the nervous current and the injury sustained by the structure, entailing certain physiological consequences on the general system (physiological) ; and, (4) pain through the medium of the brain (physiologico-psychological). This is a typical instance of what happens in every-day life, and shows the wide range of the action of the laws expounded by the fundamental sciences, thereby justifying the importance we have assigned to them in liberal education.

The next point that requires to be settled is what is the best way of strengthening the intellectual faculties ;—how to impart permanent life and vigour to the powers of discrimination, similarity and retentiveness. Now, it is a well-established law of growth that the development of any organ or faculty is proportionate to the vigour and frequency with which it is exercised. The subjects of liberal education having been fixed, it is evident, that the discipline which evokes the intensest and the most sustained activity of the intellect for mastering them, is the best. Having regard to the generality of the facts embraced by the subjects, they are pre-eminently calculated to give the healthiest and the most vigorous discipline to the understanding, and the object of the tutor should be so to instruct as never to allow the mind of the

pupil to be passive ;—his object, in the pregnant words of Matthew Arnold, should be to instil ‘ vital knowledge.’

Let us now examine the *curriculum* of the Calcutta University in the light of the first of these principles. From an inspection of the *curriculum* the Senate does not appear to possess any consistent view of the importance of the subjects which are indispensably necessary in liberal education. Of the constitution of the Senate we will only remark—that, perhaps, that body should be elected by the voice of the graduates, who, at any rate, are presumably advanced enough to be entrusted with the discharge of this function. As the case now stands, Government selects the Fellows, and we could point out some members who serve only to swell the numbers of that august assembly. But it is not with a view of precluding wrong selections that we contend for the delegation of the powers of election to the graduates, as indeed such mistakes sometimes happen (though less frequently and entailing much less irritation) even under representative systems. There is no *esprit de corps* among our graduates, and the importance of such a bond is too palpable to be questioned. By erecting the graduates into a representative body, a satisfactory experiment will be made as to whether the natives are fit for self-government, since, if the most advanced section of the community break down under the trial, a strong case will have been made out against the Hindoos generally.

The B. A. degree establishes the filial connection of the student with the Calcutta University, and is the goal of ambition with most students, the concluding optional examination not being considered essential. Accordingly, the *curriculum* up to the B. A. course should omit no branch of study that is of primary importance.

Hence we look upon the optional footing of mental and moral science in the present system as a capital defect. Dr. Mohendra Lal Sarkar was wiser than his English colleagues of the Sub-Committee that lately reported upon the question of introducing changes into the First Arts course, when he said that “a liberal education without any knowledge of philosophy * or logic would hardly deserve the name.” Another *native* educationalist is of the same opinion ; he says, “a liberal course of education would, I humbly think, be incomplete if it imparted no knowledge of what has been achieved in this field (Philosophy). Both Logic and philosophy would seem, therefore, to have strong claims to be *compulsory* subjects at the B.A. examination.” A general knowledge of the laws regulating our inner self is indispensable to every educated man, as the obstinate questionings of the mind cannot be answered without such knowledge—I mean

such questions as those of the will, the foundations of morality and religion, the relationship between mind and body, the origin of knowledge and belief, the grounds of certitude, &c.,—questions in which we cannot help taking a burning interest. Mental philosophy is no longer the barren logomachy it was while it went by the name of metaphysics. It has now fairly been reared on a positive basis; observation and comparison have been applied to the workings of the mind, and sound psychological laws established on a basis hardly yielding in point of certitude to that on which rest physical laws. Physiology has been laid under contribution for the elucidation of mental phenomena; and a flood of light has been thrown on them. The works of Sir Henry Holland, W. B. Carpenter, Tuke, Maudesley and others mark an epoch in the history of mental science; while the treatises of Professor Bain and Herbert Spencer are a revelation of the most interesting facts that the human intellect can study. The art of education, which has yet to be created, must be based upon a sound psychology; the intellectual, emotional and volitional natures of man are governed by fixed laws, and their development can be brought about by the help of favorable circumstances. Again, the science of character must rest upon psychology. In the scientific hierarchy, as constructed by Herbert Spencer, sociology presupposes psychology. Moreover, can any other study be more efficient for developing the *power* of the faculties? Such is the immense practical importance of a branch of study, which in the Calcutta University has to take its chance along with five or six others of quite secondary importance.

The optional character of Logic in the *curriculum* is another serious ground of complaint:—*बुद्धो नागरविबुद्धिः* (one without logic is dumb) says the Sanskrit adage. The father of modern philosophy confers upon it the dignified title of *scientia scientiarum* (the science of sciences). Logic is a branch of the highest possible utility to the native of Bengal. With him, authority has usurped the throne of reason. Why is such and such a doctrine believed in? For the all-sufficient reason that the *Shastras* maintain its truth. This truly represents the state of the reasoning faculty when developed under purely Hindu influences; nay, heredity exerts so much force, even on minds imbued with the doctrine and logic of the West, that they not unfrequently rest their arguments on an *ad hominem* foundation. As the future progress of the native will essentially depend on the free working of his intellectual faculties, a science which is calculated to emancipate him from the degrading and debasing thralldom of authority, cannot be too highly prized.

Again, political economy is optional in the University course. This

is another material defect. How intimately civilisation is bound up with politico-economical laws, no educated man is unaware. How miserably poor this country is with what resources ! Its commerce and trade are at a very low stage. If its graduates were fairly imbued with the doctrines of political economy, they could discuss the good and evil of the numerous problems that stare them in the face, and thus ultimately pave the way for the formation of a healthy public opinion. Wealth is one of the indispensable conditions of progress, in spite of what blind sentimentalists may say. All works that tend to the material prosperity and comfort of a country require labor, and labor must be paid for. It is not generally considered how intimately even education depends upon wealth.

Another important omission is astronomy. Considering that astronomical laws enter into the composition of a great number of terrestrial movements, this omission must needs render a liberal education seriously defective. Auguste Comte remarks with great truth on the potency of astronomical knowledge in dissipating superstition. The starry heavens and their tremendous revolutions inspire the mind with awe, which, in its turn, paves the way for prejudices of the rankest type. When their apparently irregular movements are all found subject to an invariable order, a considerable step is made in scientific knowledge. The importance of such a study to Hindu society, which is yet immersed in dense ignorance and superstition, cannot be exaggerated.

Further, chemistry is optional in the *curriculum*, while physiology is entirely absent from it. Without dwelling on the importance of chemistry, the claims of which in general education are too valid to be gainsaid, it may be said that if there is one science which more than another is indispensibly necessary to every individual and member of society, it is that which expounds the laws governing our *physique*. Whether individual or social good be the end of our efforts, an unconscious sin against the laws of health may, by cutting us off or causing disease, defeat our object. Consider but the vicious mode of living obtaining in Hindu society—consider, among a thousand other evils that might be cited, the horrible way in which our infants are reared, in order to perceive the utter necessity of this neglected branch of study.

Moreover, we fail to see the wisdom of burdening the B. A. course with such concrete sciences as botany, zoology, geology, mineralogy, etc. A knowledge of astronomy, physics, chemistry and biology is all that is indispensibly necessary to every student to enable him to understand the infinite combinations of nature, and this knowledge is also sufficient for grasping the scientific methods of obser-

vation and comparison, experiment and induction. Moreover, couceding the importance of those sciences when studied in the light of observation and experiment, we fail to perceive what good a merely speculative knowledge of them is calculated to do.

Again, mathematics and physics stand as optional branches in the *curriculum* of the Calcutta University. Both as a branch of science, and as an instrument of intellectual discipline, the importance of mathematics is immense. It is a field of deductive reasoning pure and simple, and affords the most rigorous and vigorous discipline to the intellect in one department of logic. Secondly, it exhausts all the possible relations existing among the two most general features of nature—namely, number and quantity, and furnishes the human mind with a most powerful instrument for investigating the other phenomena of the cosmos. Mathematics is therefore alike indispensable to the natural philosopher and the general student. Unfortunately, however, the way in which it is taught in Indian colleges renders nugatory its logical and philosophical importance. The student is not taught to look upon a mathematical exercise in the light of a logical exercise, in which, certain premises being granted, the conclusions are irresistible; nor is he made clearly to understand the filiation of mathematics in the scientific hierarchy. While the mechanical manipulation of the *x*'s and *y*'s is thoroughly mastered, the doctrine and logic of the science are a sealed book to the student.

It would be impertinent to dilate on the worth of physics. It is a subject which comes home to the business and bosoms of all; and the unwisdom of relegating this highly useful branch to the limbo of option is as glaring as in the case of psychology or logic.

The Faculty of Arts justifies the bifurcation of the *curriculum* into literature and science courses, on the ground that it is desirable to allow students free choice in the selection of subjects, for (say they) what his bias spontaneously leads a student to, is calculated to do him greater good than what he looks upon as a task. These gentlemen forget that it is one of the most useful functions of an educational institution to discipline the moral nature—so to say—of the student's intellect. Seeing that the sciences mentioned above are *indispensably* necessary to the educational completeness of the *alumni*, are not individual biases to be looked upon as intellectual infirmities which it is one of the most valuable offices of the teacher to remove? The same reason that justifies the establishment of the routine of studies, the periodical examinations, &c., also justifies the institution of an educational programme, without which liberal education would be a 'shadow and a sound.' "The leaning of this boy," say some, "is to literature only"—"Well, it is precisely one of the

functions of the school or the college to restrain his dominant tendency within moderate limits and to open his eyes to the beauty of science." Here the influence of the teacher comes into play ; he should convince the pupil of the natural filiation of the sciences and the importance of the neglected branches to the scientific hierarchy. Under the present system a student may safely neglect every subject except literature. Having regard to the idealistic nature of the native intellect, all intelligent people will at once perceive that such a state of things is calculated to leave unimpeded, if not positively to foster, the action of this idealism ; for, under the circumstances, what is the probability that the student will, of himself, in spite of his inborn propensity, take kindly to the study of the sciences ? Of all the subjects, English literature exercises the greatest amount of fascination over the students. Many circumstances conspire to enlist their sympathy powerfully on behalf of this branch of study. It is therefore to be expected that they will henceforth devote themselves with all their energy to the cultivation of English literature. It is very probable that Indian graduates will in future write and speak better English, but their education must be monstrously one-sided and illiberal. The claims of the fundamental branches are paramount, and to make most of them optional is sacrificing a higher utility at the altar of a lower. When things have drifted from bad to worse for a length of time, the Senate will awake to the viciousness of the present arrangement and revert to the principle of liberal education which they have abandoned without good reason.

Let us now see whether the other end of liberal education—the development of the intellectual faculties—is attained in Indian schools and colleges, for however faulty the programme of study may be—it cannot certainly be so defective but that it may be really useful if the students succeed in assimilating the truths imparted.

The graduate has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. His attainments are found to consist in an accumulation of undigested information, which is retained in the memory by mere verbal associations, and which can ill supply the place of real knowledge. Cram has become the crying evil of high education in Bengal ; and under such circumstances, the development of the intellectual powers is impossible. When education consists in storing the memory with words merely, the only faculty that can be evoked is the verbal memory. The undergraduate and graduate are found not only wanting in knowledge, but also in the invariable accompaniment of knowledge—namely—power. Whenever they happen to launch beyond the limits of the text-book, they hopelessly founder ; they

have not the power to enter upon the investigation of any new subject: honorable exceptions being understood.

But what is the standard whereby we gauge the attainments of the University man? A writer in the *Calcutta Review* some time ago demurred to the test generally adopted—namely, the power to write decent English; and gave it as his opinion that, even when judged by such an unfair standard, the graduate is not found to disappoint our expectations. To this latter assertion, the experience of every one who has come into contact with the graduate gives the lie. As to the test, under any other circumstances, it would certainly have been unfair;—it would, for instance, have been unfair to judge of the success of high education in England by the power displayed by Oxford or Cambridge-men in writing good English, since real scientific attainments may very well co-exist with a poor knowledge of the rules of good composition; while on the other hand, a man may be a master of well-turned periods and melodious sentences without possessing a competent knowledge of any subject whatever. But it is not so in India. English is a foreign language, and, as it commands largely the esteem of the *alumni*, they put forth their greatest strength in mastering it. In the plenitude of his academic career the graduate aims at no higher object than the attainment of a chaste English style. Now, when it is seen that he has signally failed here, the presumption in favor of his failure in other branches, to which he does not attach so immense an importance, verges upon proof. It may be argued that the failure of Indian graduates is owing, not to the defectiveness of the teaching they receive at the college, but to the apathy, or any other circumstance, which makes them fold their hands after their collegiate career is over. But how is it possible to exculpate their collegiate teaching in the face of the incontestible fact that the ignorance they evince in their conversation and public utterances is incompatible with even an ordinary amount of knowledge?

The literature and science of one nation are very hard to be assimilated with the life and mind of another nation which is at an inferior stage of development to the former. Every fresh accession of knowledge, and every new development of the emotions, modify and shape public opinion in harmony with them, and this public opinion, through the operation of the principle of heredity, becomes a part and parcel of the national mind, qualifying every individual—be he the lowest in the scale—for the reception of the literary and scientific truths that are the heritage of the nation he belongs to. Between the Englishman and the Hindu there is a gulf which it is hard to bridge over. One of the inherent idiosyncracies of the Hindu intellect is what is called abstraction, that is;

the tendency to shut the eyes to external nature and to brood over the ideas and feelings of the mind; the characteristic of the Western intellect is its realism. With his senses braced by a climate 'frosty but kindly,' the Englishman observes the movements of the world about him.

The bearing of this mental dissimilarity on English education in India is—(1) that it requires immense labor in a Hindu to enter into the spirit of English conceptions and, (2), that when this almost insuperable difficulty is got over, assimilation is impossible. Heredity and public opinion combine to prepare the English student for imbibing English literature and science, while the mental condition of the Hindu pupil simply rejects pabulum which it cannot assimilate, because unprepared. It is absurd to deny that the native can understand (if he is at the requisite pains) English thought. The eminent success of many Bengalis in the department of science and literature places their capacity beyond doubt, although the failure of university education testifies to the great difficulty that constitutional differences place in the way of their success. But we agree with Mr. Lobb, when he says, "Even supposing that a mind has acquired all the information necessary for the illustration of Messrs. Ladd and Griffins' boxes of apparatus, is it forthwith to be concluded that such a mind is either itself *in the least degree scientific*, or capable of properly communicating to others the simplest rudiments of scientific knowledge?"

Is this difficulty insuperable? Can the disqualifying feature of the Indian intellect be stamped out so as to enable him to avail himself of the spiritual leadership of the West? Can the Hindu dreamer, filled with the conception of the unreality of terrestrial things, be converted into a being to whom 'life is real, life is earnest'?

The attainments of the schoolmaster are certainly despicable, and what is worse, inaccurate. This is no common evil. No other functionary occupies a more important position in society than the teacher. His function is *spiritual*; his mission is to open the eyes of his pupils to the infinite beauty of the connection and inter-dependence of the internal and external worlds; he is commissioned to hold before their admiring eyes the naked beauty and majesty of truth. All voluntary actions depend upon knowledge; the teacher therefore exercises a powerful influence in civilization. Considering that by far the greater portion of the students do not carry on their studies beyond the precincts of the school, the circumstance noted above is a great evil indeed. For the pupils must imbibe at the hands of such teachers a good deal of bad English and bad logic. But when people say that the schools exercise a permanent deteriorating influence upon the graduate, they are mistaken. Under an efficient system, four

years of subsequent teaching would have gone far in purging the mind of the pupil of the unclean thing; for what, in fact, is learnt at school beyond an elementary knowledge of English? Government should, however, exercise its best judgment in the appointment of teachers. At present the mere fact that a person is a B. A. or M. A. turns the scale. How illusory this test is, we all know. Before a teacher is appointed, he should be examined as to his fitness for the post.

It is plausibly argued by some persons that the existence of cram in the Calcutta University is mainly, if not solely, to be attributed to the pecuniary view of English education taken by the *alumni*. It is affirmed that the object which directs their efforts is not education, but success at the annual examinations; and that, as cramming is found to answer exceedingly well at those ordeals, they eagerly resort to it. So the professor and the schoolmaster gain a cheap acquittal of the charge brought against them by the tribunal of an indignant public opinion! Without denying the existence of the ignoble motive—which is, indeed, too glaring to admit of gain-saying—or its pernicious influence, it may reasonably be maintained that, had our educational dignitaries made their charges follow their teaching with intelligence, the sphere of the operation of cram would, at any rate, have been considerably narrowed. Had they known how to enlist the interest of the pupils in their studies, they would have created a counter-force in the minds of the students which would have rendered the other motive partially inoperative. I deny that the Bengalis are constitutionally unfitted to love knowledge for its own sake and hold that their view of high education is amenable to control.

When instruction is conveyed through a highly idiomatic and foreign language like the English, the chances in favor of cramming are vastly greater than is the case where the vernacular is the medium of instruction. In the former case, the pupil has not only to master the truths contained in the various subjects, but has to learn to understand the *language* in which they are couched. The meanings of words must be clearly understood and the variety of ways in which they present themselves as collocations mastered. To attain well-defined ideas of the significations of words in a foreign language entails no light labour and exercise of judgment, while to master the idioms, which are not supplied cut and dried in every dictionary, is harder. Further, consider the unintelligibility that must attach itself to ideas having reference to peculiarly European or English circumstances, and the superadded difficulty which presents itself to the learner will appear in its true proportions.

But the greater the difficulty, the more efficient and careful should be the system of instruction. Unfortunately, however, it is a patent fact that the method of our public teaching is extremely defective. There can be no two opinions as to the utter viciousness of the method of teaching practised in our schools and colleges. The tutor is more bent on qualifying his pupils for success at the annual examination than on imparting to them sound training and substantial knowledge. The examination is the ostensible test of his efficiency, and he is naturally ambitious to gain the reputation of a good teacher by making the majority of his pupils pass through it with success. The disinterested impulse to seek for their solid good—to educate their intellectual faculties and to store them with the best sort of knowledge, does not arise with the average run of teachers and professors. Again, the cramming system is simpler, and calls for far less tact and skill than a system of substantial education.

Let us take the mode of teaching pursued in the first or the second class of an English school. The teacher desires a pupil to explain a passage belonging to the lesson of the day. The pupil stands up and begins explaining, that is, substituting one English word for another, and if he succeeds in doing this all that is needful is accomplished, and the others content themselves with merely noting down the English equivalents. But while all this word manipulation was going on, the intellect of the pupils slept. It seldom enters into the thoughts of the master to test the grasp of the students over the idea under consideration,—the worthy man is far too noble to suspect that beneath all this runs an utter want of sense. When a student gives a wrong word, or comes to a stand-still, the teacher simply supplies the deficiency and bids him rest and be thankful. Thus fares English literature; thus fares history. The picture we have drawn is, we believe, no unfaithful sketch of the existing state of things in our schools. In the majority, if not in all, of them the great fact that stares an observer in the face, is the *utter absence of all endeavour to develop the intellect of the pupil*. The case is much worse in our colleges; there the note system is rampant. English literature, history, philosophy, logic, political economy, are all taught through the medium of *notes*. The oracular lips of the professor deliver notes on these subjects, which the busy pens of the *alumni* take down for the purpose of committing them to memory, in order to attain success at the annual examination. In a school the teacher is a native, whom an enquiring pupil is not afraid to ask for explanation of a difficult passage, and who can render himself intelligible in the last resort by the vernacular. The professor, on the other hand, dwells

at an "unapproached distance;" he is looked up to with awe; and it often times happens that a student cannot express, or, for fear of raising a laugh, refrains from expressing his difficulty. But it is no use doing all this; there are the notes, which will infallibly work out his salvation in the examination-hall. Is such a system of instruction calculated to educate a nation? Here is a picture by an English professor: (*Vide* the defunct *Indian Observer*, Vol. v., p. 266). "The subject of lecture is—say—Milton's *Comus*. Before the professor takes his seat, the students mend their pens or pencils, and open their note-books. The professor slowly reads line after line, gives the meaning and etymology of every important word from Wedgewood or Donald, and paraphrases of every line in choice English. The pupils are all busy with their pens, taking down, word for word, the roots, meanings, phrases and explanations, as they flow from the wise lips of the erudite professor. *It never occurs to the professor to ask his pupils whether they understand his explanations*; indeed, I am told, the pupils never open their lips in the class-room. They seldom make any preparation. They scarcely open their books at home. They come to the lecture-room perfectly unprepared. They come armed only with pen and note-book.* * They do not even turn up Webster at home. *The lecturer must do the thinking of his pupils. The pupils are only copying-machines.*

"What, then, is the remedy? * * *The true method of teaching in the Dame's schools, dignified with the title of colleges, is the Socratic method. The object of the lecturer should be to make his pupils think, to draw out of them as much as possible by a process of intelligent catechisation and then to supply them with whatever is lacking. Let 'a despondent professor' take a layman's advice [here the writer disguises his profession], which is two-fold; firstly, let him imitate, in the class-room, the Socrates of the platonic dialogues, and secondly, let him insist on his pupils making a bonfire of those horrible note-books, which, more than anything else, contribute to the maintenance of the worship of the twin deities of the Bengal colleges, cram and sham.*"

"Every one must educate himself," says Sir William Hamilton. "If there is a first principle in intellectual education," says J. S. Mill, "it is this, that the discipline which does good to the mind is that in which the mind is active, not that in which the mind is passive." When knowledge is gained through activity, it is assimilated with the mind. The knowledge which is gained without effort is forgotten without delay,—'easy come, easy go.' It cannot reasonably be doubted that what has cost much, is prized much, and is

taken far more care of than what comes without any exertion on our part. Keeping this supremely important truth in mind, the teacher should exact as much intelligent labor from the students as possible ; he should regard himself primarily as the director of their studies, and only *secondarily* as their teacher ; he should make them do the work as much as they possibly can, he merely correcting their errors and supplementing their deficiencies. The teacher should maintain the position mainly of a referee ; he should *distinctly* give his pupils to understand that they are expected to do their best, and that he will assist them only on such points as cannot be satisfactorily settled by their unaided exertions. Each pupil must be made to prepare his lesson at home ; he must be made to give the roots of important words, their literal and metaphorical significations ; to explain and parse sentences ; to correct those that are faulty ; to point out their logical connection (if there is any,) &c., &c., If the tutor exacts this much from his pupils, and supplements what is lacking, their faculties will improve strikingly, and they will thoroughly master whatever they read. This procedure will of course at first disagreeably affect students accustomed to the easy practice of taking notes. But a great step will have been made when the new method, being persisted in, shall in time evoke the exquisitely delightful consciousness of self-power. When such a feeling is evoked (as it certainly will be evoked in due time), the greatest and healthiest ally of progress is enlisted on the side of education ; and the delight of self-achieved conquest will now powerfully influence the efforts of the learner.

In the preface to his *Geography of India*, the late Mr. Blochmann distinctly recognises it as one of the duties of the teacher of geography, "to enliven the work as much as possible," and this precious observation applies to instruction in general. "The greatest of all motives to concentration," says Professors Bain, (*Vide the Senses and the Intellect*, third Edition,) "is a present enjoyment of the work in hand. Any exercise possessing a special charm detains us by immediate attraction.* * * This is the inherent power of the will in its immediate and most efficient manifestation,—present pleasure furthering a present action." It cannot admit of a doubt that what is learnt with pleasure, the mind assimilates sooner, and retains longer, than what is learnt with indifference or pain. Pleasure, whose nature is to feed itself, concentrates attention, and, by heightening the vital energies, makes continued attention possible ; while pain distracts attention and, by lowering our energies, makes continued attention impossible. Again, by associating pleasure with study, the teacher can dispense with the comparatively ignoble motive of fear. Geography and History, Algebra and Geometry, are at present so many rocks of

offence. The students fail to see what good such studies are calculated to do them in life, and they plod on with them solely because success at the examination depends upon a knowledge of them. No endeavour is made to disabuse them of this highly pernicious notion, nor is instruction in these subjects enlivened with an imaginative coloring. - This lays the foundations of cram; for, when the student feels no immediate interest in what he reads, the exertion requisite for understanding it is felt as a burden, and the motive to cramming becomes almost irresistible.

The immense importance of enlisting pleasure on the side of education will be apparent, when we consider that it is because our method of instruction does not keep in view this object that the graduate is generally found to sink into insignificance after his collegiate career is over. The heart not having been engaged by the tutor, the student lacks the motive to impel him when he has taken his degree, and thereby secured, *in posse*, a clerkship. So his Logic and Philosophy, Conic Sections and Trigonometry, are cast to the winds; and henceforth, secure in the esteem of his countrymen, he thinks only of pleasure and profit; in the absence of a love of knowledge, the inborn selfishness of the Bengali now riots unchecked. Educated men generally complain of the pecuniary view of education which prevails in this country. What other view, we ask, is possible from a system of education in which the tutors do not train the *alumni* to look upon knowledge as its own reward?

Speaking of his experiences, acquired while he was a temporary mathematical teacher, Professor Tyndall says:—"But it was my habitual practice to withdraw the boys from the routine of the book; and to appeal to their self-power in the treatment of questions not comprehended in that routine. At first the change from a beaten track usually excited a little aversion, but in no single instance have I found the aversion to continue. * * When utterly disheartened, I have encouraged the boy by that anecdote of Newton, where he attributes the difference between him and other men to his patience, or of Mirabeau, when he ordered his servant, who had said something to be impossible, never to use that stupid word again. Thus cheered, he has returned to his task with a smile, which, perhaps, had something of doubt in it, but which, nevertheless, evinced a resolution to try again. I have seen the boy's eye brighten, and at length with a pleasure, of which the ecstasy of Archimedes was but a simple expansion, heard him exclaim—"I have it, sir." The consciousness of self-power thus awakened was of immense value; and animated by it, the progress of the class was astonishing. I was ever ready to assist when I deemed help needful, but my offers of

assistance were habitually declined. The boys had tasted the sweets of intellectual conquest and demanded victories of their own. I have seen their diagrams scratched on the walls, cut into the beams upon the playground, and numberless other illustrations of the living interest they took in the subject !"—These words should be inscribed in letters of gold. Embodying as they do the personal experiences of an eminent man, they are worth many volumes of mere theorizing. Professor Tyndall is a model teacher. What nobility of purpose, what constant and undeviating love breaks through every part of this excellent passage ! Dr. Tyndall would educate his youthful charges, and nothing should prevent his doing so ; this seems to have been his resolution ! and mark his success ! "The diagrams scratched on the walls, cut into the beams, etc.," speak volumes. These observations are worth the study of every Indian teacher, as showing the magnitude of the influence that can (where love prompts the action and wisdom guides it) be exercised over the *alumni*. The above passage also corroborates our view of the high utility of evoking the independent exertions of the students, which ultimately generate "the consciousness of self-power, pregnant with the most important consequences. Dr. Tyndall was "ever ready to assist when he deemed help needful," but strange to say, "his offers of assistance were habitually declined."

The following extract from a letter to the late *Indian Observer* will show the immense difficulty the English professor labors under in making his pupils apprehend his meaning. The letter, being written by an English professor unfolding his personal experiences, must, as a matter of course, carry "great weight with it (*vide* vol. iii., p. 234) :—

"I am unable to make intelligible to Bengalis, whose thoughts and language are different from my own, ideas and expressions which I conceive myself to understand. I have therefore come to the melancholy conclusion that my lectures are almost entirely *useless*. I should like to see substituted for myself a man with a *perfect knowledge of Bengali* and a thorough acquaintance with English language and literature." A knowledge of Bengali should certainly be insisted on as a necessary qualification of every English professor.

Undoubtedly, the subject that is of the very first importance to the native of Bengal is English. English is the key to—the practically infinite mass of knowledge comprising the recorded experience of the best minds of a great and highly civilised nation. How supremely important must then the English literature be to men so frightfully possessed by the spirit of immobile and stagnant conservatism, as the Bengalis ! Contrast a Bengali, who

has received an English education, with one who has not received that inestimable boon, in order to perceive the truth of my observation.

As effectual means of learning English, I think, *translation* and *re-translation* (as pointed out by Mr. Lethbridge) should be largely practised in our schools and colleges. The students should also be encouraged* by their teachers to explore freely the field of modern English literature. In order that a student may attain to a command of the English tongue, he must know, in the happy words of Mr. Cowell, 'something of everything and everything of something.' For a critical study of the language, he must confine his attention to the text-book; and for a general idea of what English is, he must read many books. In preparing his lesson, he must pore over his Webster and his text-book, and with intense application master what is before him; but at the same-time, let him read uncritically—not inattentively, let him finish page after page, carrying only a simple understanding of the general drift. By this process being continued for a considerable length of time, the meanings of words and idioms will rise into clear light—and this is what is meant by mastery over a language.

An effective way to prevent cram is to abolish English text-books from the F. A. and B. A. courses. When text-books are abolished, the committing to memory of notes is shorn of much of its importance, and the attainment of such a knowledge of English as is necessary to answer examination papers becomes the object of the student. The Senate has wisely abolished the text-book in English in the Entrance Course, but the reasons which apply in the one case, apply also in the other, perhaps *a fortiori*. At the schools, the pernicious system of notes not being in vogue, and the masters being natives, the chances of cramming are considerably less than is the case with the colleges.

Referring to some examination papers of the Calcutta University, Mr. Herbert Spencer says—"Who examines the examiners? How happens it that men so competent in their special knowledge, but so incompetent in their general judgment, should occupy the places they do? This prevailing faultiness of the examiners shows conclusively that the administration is faulty at its centre. Somewhere or other the power of ultimate decision is exercised by those who are unfit to exercise it. *If the examiners of the examiners were set to fill up an examination paper which had for its subject the right conduct of examinations and the proper qualifications for examiners, there would come out very unsatisfactory answers.*" The defects of the present system of examination by the Calcutta University have a material bearing on the cramming found in our

schools and colleges. The ambition of the student is naturally excited by prospective success at the annual examination, which is of great importance to him, as concerns both his reputation and his worldly prospects. Examinations are the recognised tests of the proficiency of a student, and to come off successfully in them is considered the infallible index to sound education by many who are hardly able to form a rational opinion on so high a subject. Both the pupil and the teacher fix their eye upon success at the examination, while the far more correct view, not being recognised in the hurry and bustle, cannot possibly influence action. Although examinations are never infallible tests, still, if they are conducted with judgment, they cannot generally fail to test the real attainments of the examinee, and to indirectly prevent cram. In English literature, the first importance should be attached to explanation, translation and original composition. Certainly the best way of testing a pupil's understanding of a particular passage is to require him to give a *clear* explanation of it. Again, translation is impossible without an understanding of the original passage. The merits of original composition as a test, none, I think, will gainsay. Again, the examinee should be required to explain certain passages in *Bengalî*. That the English system cannot prevent cram, has to my mind been satisfactorily proved by the fact that notwithstanding the substitution of the explanation in place of the previous paraphrase system, cram has not perceptibly diminished. The knowledge of a foreign language cannot be infallibly tested through the medium of that language. The student may possibly pass off as knowledge what is in fact only its semblance, words, phrases and sentences may be committed to memory without anything like understanding, and in these, when put down with a certain amount of tact, it is impossible to detect imposture. But when the student is required to explain English passages in the vernacular, his *real* attainments are *infallibly* tested.

It is absurd to deny that when a pupil gives a vernacular explanation, he understands his explanation, which is couched in his mother-tongue. The proposed system will entail upon the pupil the additional labor of attaining a tolerable knowledge of the vernacular. So much the better, considering the neglected condition of Bengali.

The present system of University education has evoked a good deal of discussion; vials of wrath have been poured upon it and remedial measures suggested. The critics are not unanimous as to the cause or causes of the unsatisfactory state of things; yet each proclaims, with diverting confidence, the infallible virtue of his own nostrum. This man attributes the failure to the method of teaching, that man to the bewildering multiplicity

of the subjects, a third person would lay the whole blame upon the bad text-books,—another would account for the failure by pointing out the low and defective attainments of the school-master, whose bad teaching (according to this theorist) the Professor is afterwards unable to correct with complete success. All these theorists are (to my thinking) rash empirics. Social phenomena do not admit of such simple explanations as these men would have us believe. A single social phenomenon may owe its origin to a hundred causes and an adequate explanation of the fact presupposes a knowledge of these causes. In my humble opinion, if we are ever to arrive at the *vera causa* of the educational fiasco, the inductive method of investigation must be resorted to. The first course is to collect all the facts which have any bearing on the question, the next to reach a conclusion by legitimate scientific methods. Theories on such a subject, in order to be worth anything, must be based upon all the available facts. If I may venture on a suggestion, I think a committee should be appointed to watch over the educational work and to note down all the significant facts that they light upon. The whole course of the student, from the lowest class till he appears at the B. A. examination, should be watched closely—the mode of teaching, the text-books, the examination system,—in short, everything that has the remotest bearing on English education, should be most heedfully watched. When a mass of indisputable facts shall have been gathered, it will be time to eliminate chance by the application of the methods of *Agreement*, *Difference* and *Concomitant Variation*. In offering for the attentive consideration of the educated public the foregoing remarks, I most emphatically disclaim all dogmatism. To evoke discussion on a subject of the highest possible importance, is all that is intended by them.

CHARU CHANDRA MUKHOPADHYAYA.

ART. VI.—THE HINDU BENGAL.
RAJABALI. 8VO. SERAMPORE.

ALTHOUGH Bengal is the first Presidency of British India, its early history before the Mahomedan administration is almost unknown. We have collected the few fragmentary notices we have found on the subject, in the hope that they may lead to further enquiry.

It is still an unsettled point whence the Aryas came, but it is quite certain that they were originally settled on the seven rivers, *viz.*, the Indus, the five rivers of the Punjab, and Sarasvati. The land between the Sarasvati and Drishadvat was called the *Brahmavarta*. Those who inhabited it, were contemplative and philosophic, the range of their contemplation extending from the soul to God and from God to the soul, and all else being a subordinate study. Originally there was no caste, no priest, no temple among them, and their great aim was to worship the unseen Power through the soul. Although this spiritual state continued for a long time, it did not and could not spread far. Population increased, and the organization of society was called for, which resulted in the formation of professions. Caste is mentioned in as early an authority as the *Rig Veda*, in the 10th Book of which work *Brahmin*, *Kshetrya*, *Vaisya* and *Sudra* are named. *Brahma* meant "not prayer or thanksgiving, but that invocation which, with the force of the will directed to God, seeks to draw him to itself and to receive satisfaction from him."

From *Brahma*, *Brahman* was formed, its* meaning being chanter of prayers. Within a confined circle, *Aryaism* continued in its primitive or spiritual state, but, speaking generally, its aspect was changed. Greater stress was laid on the form, organisation, ritualism, offerings and ceremonies, and less on the internal adoration of God and the development of the soul. Before the composition of the *Sama* and *Yajur Vedas*, *Brahmins* were divided into four classes of priests, for the performance of sacrifices, ceremonies and chanting of prayers. They also assumed the title of *Purohita*, the friends and counsellors of kings.

The social organization brought on by external circumstances required development, and each profession naturally sought for a field in which its energy could be directed to advantage. The holy land, or the *Brahmavarta*, as well as the original seat on the seven rivers, became crowded. The Aryas thus situated took "for their guides the principal rivers of Northern India and were led by them to new homes in their beautiful and fertile

valleys" The countries which were of the earliest formation were Uttara Kuru, Kashmere and Gandhar now Candahar. Uttara Kuru was on the north, beyond the Himavat. The Mahabharat, speaking of the Uttara Kuru women, says that they were unconfined, they roved independently and preserved their innocence. The countries which next attracted the Arya emigrants were Kurukshetra (near Delhi), Matsya on the Jumna, Panchala near modern Canoj, and Sursena (Mathura). Menu calls this tract of land *Brahmarshi*. The countries constituting the *Mudhya Desa* of Menu were bounded by the Vindhya on the South, Himalaya on the North, and reached from Vinasara on the East to Pairag (Allahabad) on the West.

Aryabartta comprehended all the above and reached from the mouth of the Indus to the Bay of Bengal.

Bengal is not mentioned by Menu. In the Rig Veda, the Ganges and Jumna are mentioned. Weber says that he can trace "in the later portion of the Vedic writings, their (Aryas) dispersion as far as the Ganges." In the Satapatha Brahmana, there is a legend from which it appears that the Aryas advanced from the banks of the Sarasvati to Sadiniri or to Behar and Bengal. (Muir's O. T. P. II., p. 423). The route of emigration given by Burnouf is from "the Indus to the Ganges and from the Ganges to the Dekhan." The Brahmins appear to have taken the lead in the colonisation. They were settled in "Sarasvati, Canoj, Gauda, Mithila (Tirhut), Utkala (Orissa), Dravida, Marashtra, Telunga, Guzrat and Cashmere. Their descendants inhabited Anga (Bhagulpore), Banga (Bengal), Calinga, Kamrupa, Assam, &c."* The Brahmin element was the strongest element everywhere. No coronation, no religious, social or domestic ceremony could be performed without the Brahmins. When Sita was married to Rama, the palace of Janaka was full of Brahmins.

How many thousand Brahmins here,
From every region far and near,
Well versed in holy lore appear. *Griffith's Ramayan.*

Next to the Brahmins, the Kshetryas were the most powerful. They formed the military class from which kings were chosen. They prosecuted the extension of their dominions, gave protection to life and property, and held out every encouragement to the promotion of agriculture, and commerce. The next class, the Vaisyas, were thus stimulated to concentrate their energy on the development of the agricultural resources, and the augmentation of the commercial prosperity, of the country. The first three classes were the Aryas, who were called "twice born," from their

* Hunter's Bengal.

right to the sacred thread. The Sudras were most probably the aborigines, and they were doomed to be servants to the three classes, with liberty to earn their livelihood by mechanical arts.

When colonisation had progressed considerably, India was divided into Northern, Central, Eastern, Southern and Western parts. Although India consisted of a number of kingdoms, and many of them were tributary for a time, it does not appear that the whole country was subject to one ruler or to one line of kings. Kingdoms were often enlarged or subdivided according to circumstances, and allegiance was often exacted by the most powerful monarchs, specially on occasions of the Ashwamedha Yagnya, or on other extraordinary occasions.

In the Vishnu Purana one of the descendants of Yayati was the King of Banga or Bengal. In the Raghu Vansa, by Kalidasa, Chap. 10, Raghu, the great grandfather of Dasarath, is described as having "conquered the kings of Bengal possessing fleets." Bengal was rich at the time, as the kings after being reinstated, gave to Raghu "immense wealth." In the Ramayan the countries constituting Dasarath's Kingdom are "the Eastern countries, Sindhu, Sarastra, Savira, the Southern country, Anga, Banga, Magadha, Kosala, Kasi, &c.," "rich in golden coins, sheep and kine." Dasarath, the father of Rama, lived long before Yudhisthira, whose era is fixed by Colebrooke and Wilson between the 13th and 14th Century B. C. Banga is mentioned several times in the Mahabharat. When Arjuna went on a pilgrimage, he visited Banga and Munipore (Adi Parva). Previous to the performance of the Rajsaya Yagnya, Bhishm proceeded to the Eastern countries to exact allegiance from their kings, and among the countries conquered by him was Banga, which must have consisted of four divisions, as the names of four rulers are mentioned, viz., Samadra Sen, Chander Sen, Tamralipta and Kurkutadhipati. The people of Banga, Pundraka and Kalinga, that is Lower Bengal, Midnapore and Ganjam, presented large tusks with elephants.* Before the war of Kurukshetra, a complete list of the mountains, rivers and countries of India was furnished by Sanjaya to Dhritarastra, from which it appears that the different parts of India were inhabited by Hindus. There are several countries which are difficult of identification. Among the countries mentioned *Banga is one*—(*Bhisma—Parva*.) After the war, (Yudhisthira performed the *Ashwamedha Yagnya*. "With the sacrificial horse went Arjuna to several countries, among which was Bengal. It was then governed by Mlechas, or outcastes, which may mean degraded Aryans, or bar-

barous aborigines. In the *Rajdharmā Anasasanika Parva*, Bhishma enumerates several tribes, viz., Yavana, Kirat, Gandhar, Chin, Savara, Barbara, Saca, Tomgara, Kuuka, Palada, Chandra, Mandraka, Poundra, Pahuda, Ramata, and Kamboja. The question put was,) how were they to be civilized? The answer was that the king should consider it a paramount duty to educate them. Menu's idea of Mlechas is that they "speak barbarously, or not as the Sanskrit-speaking people." Colonel Briggs, in his interesting paper* on the Hindus and Aborigines, says that the aborigines had no priests, they allowed their widows to get married, they ate cow's flesh, they buried their dead, and they were unacquainted with the arts and sciences. Wilson says that "it must have been a period of some antiquity when all the nations from Bengal to the Coromandel were considered Mlechas and outcastes."

The tradition is that the countries on the left side of the Ganges were called *Banga*, and those on the right side were called *Anga*. Magadha was a very ancient country and a Magadha princess was the queen of Dilip. It was originally a part of Chedi Rajah's dominions† of the solar race, but subsequently it was governed independently by Jarasandhu, who was a contemporary of Yudhisthira. Banga and several other countries were tributary to Jarasandhu. Magadha was bounded on one side by Mithila and on the other side by Banga. Its capital was Kusagarapura, afterwards Rajgir and then Rajgriha. It was in the midst of five hills—"full of cattle, well watered, salubrious, and abounding with fine buildings." This description is given in the Savaparva when Bhim, Arjun and Krishna visited the city to kill Jarasandhu. Pataliputra, or Paliputra, was afterwards the capital. It is now under water, but close to its site stands modern Patna.

The growth of a new religion is generally attributable to the decline of the spiritual element in the existing creed. Long before Buddhism arose, the contemplative and philosophical Hindus had learnt and thought what the purpose of existence was, what was the nature of the soul, and how it could be absorbed in God. But these abstract truths were being lost sight of, with the increase of sensualism in meat and drink, the assumption of the authority evidenced in the caste system, and the predominance of external rites and ceremonies. These circumstances necessitated the inception of Buddhism, which arose about 477 B. C. Sakyamuni, the first

* Journal of the R. A. Society, Vol. XIII.

† Chedi was the country of the Kala Chures or Hachayas—Chedi in later times had two capitals, viz., Tri-

pura, the capital of Chedi Proper, and Manipura, considered to have been the original capital. Archaeological Survey, Vol. IX.

Buddhist teacher, appeared in 588 B. C. He first preached in Benares, the citadel of Brahmanism, then in Champa, Rajgira, Sravasti and Kosambi. Brahmanism was convulsed, and he not only gained an immense number of converts, but extended his doctrines in every part of the country.

Chandragupta's reign commenced in B. C. 325. He ruled from the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges. His capital was Palibothra, where Megasthenes resided. He was succeeded by Daimachus, the second Greek ambassador during the reign of Vindusara. Asoka was the next king of Magadha, and his dominions reached from Cashmere to the Nerbudda and from the Indus to the Bay of Bengal. To the eastward, his kingdom probably included the whole of Bengal.*

Bengal did not uniformly bear an independent character. It was governed by its own kings, but it was often tributary. When Alexander was here, Magadha included Bengal and Behar. Elphinstone states that, "when the successors of Alexander were the successors of the kings of Prasii, Bhagadata, a prince of Bengal, was also their ally." Alexander's campaign took place in 330 B. C. Megasthenes mentions the Gangaridæ, supposed to occupy Lower Bengal, and their chief city is identified with Burdwan.† In 812-822 A. D. India consisted of four great kingdoms, of which Bengal was one. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI.) In the seventh century the division of Eastern India consisted of Assam, Bengal Proper, Delta of the Ganges, Sumbulpore, Orissa and Ganjam.

After the Maurya dynasty we have the Gupta dynasty, which commenced in 319 B. C. "The kingdom of India under the Guptas is the country watered by the Ganges and affluents." Chandra Gupta assumed the name of Vikrama, and Vikrampore in Dacca is called after him, and not after the name of the Oujein monarch.‡ The coins of the Guptas were "types of Greek origin." The people were acquainted with the Greek language and imitated Greek architecture. The Pal dynasty were the next rulers of Magadha. "They were the sovereigns of Eastern India, including Benares, Magadha and Bengal." The Pals were staunch Buddhists. Buddhism was evidently in existence in Bengal while it was tributary to Magadha during its several Buddhist dynasties. Adisur, whom Lassen places before the Pals, and who imported pure Brahmins, with their companion Kaisthas, from Canoj, must have reigned after the Pals, as up to their time Buddhism was strong in Bengal.

* Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. Society for January 1857. † Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI. N S.

† McGrindle's Ancient India.

The Pal dynasty was succeeded by the Sen dynasty. The founder of the latter dynasty took Bengal partially from the Pals, but did not possess Magadha till 1162 A. D. *

The Pala kings reigned in Western and Northern Bengal from 855 to 1040 A. D., and the Sena kings in Eastern and Deltaic Bengal from 986 to about 1142 A. D.† Under the Senas Brahmanism revived in Bengal. Lakshmana's reign commenced in 1106. We have already alluded to the independent position of Bengal at different times. Colonel Wilford says that at one time the Bengal Kings were so powerful that they conquered "all the Gangetic provinces as far as Benares and assumed the title of maharajahs." An inscription found in Sarun was erected by a prince who was tributary to Gour or Bengal.

In the Ayeen a list of the Hindu kings of Bengal is given:—

24 Khattrya kings reigned for 2418 years.

9 Kaist kings reigned for 250 years.

11 Do. of the family of Adisur reigned for 714 years. ✕

10 kings of the family of Bhopal reigned for 689 years.

10 kings of the Pal dynasty.

The Vaidya Rajahs reigned from 1063 to 1200 A. D.

Bengal, during the time of Ballal, consisted of the following divisions:—

1. Barendro, with the Mahanundee on the west, the Pudma (Ganges) on the south, and the Koorootoya on the east.

2. Bungu—east from the Koorootoya to the Brumhapootra. The capital of Bengal, was near Dacca.

3. Bagree, the Delta, called also Dwipa, or the island. It had three sides, the Bhageeruthee river on the west, the Pudma on the east, the sea on the south.

4. Rahree. It had the Bhageeruthee and the Pudma on the north and the east, and other kingdoms on the west and south.

5. Mithila—having the Mahanundee and Gour on the east, the Bhageeruthee on the south, and other countries on the west and south.

Fa Hian was here in 399 to 414 A. D. and Hiouen Tshang in 629 to 645 A. D. They both notice Tumlook as a place of great importance, and it continued in a prosperous condition till the fourteenth century. The Mahavanso names it as one of the nineteen capitals. When the *Anaganum* was parcelled out, the kings of Magadha, Mithila, Oude, Benares, Anga, Banga and Tumlook got their respective shares. The last named Chinese traveller visited Bengal, which he notices.

* Archaeological Survey of India. of Bengal, Vol. 17.

† Journal of the Asiatic Society

Gour (derived from Gur, or ungranulated sugar)* was the most ancient capital of Bengal. It existed for two thousand years. "It was the most magnificent city in India, of immense size, and fitted with noble buildings. It was the capital of a hundred kings, the seat of wealth and luxury. The city was destroyed by a plague several centuries ago." (Hunter's Bengal). The next capital of Bengal was Vikrampore, near Sonargong in Dacca. Although Dacca is looked upon as the Bœotia of Bengal, it was at one time a most important place. Nuddea was the capital when Luchmun Sen was the king of Bengal, and it has been celebrated as the seat of learning. Bengal had several important cities, among which may be named Sonargong near Vikrampore, and Satgong near the mouth of the Hooghly. There is a map of Bengal made in the fifteenth century, showing five large cities, which constituted a portion of the Sunderbun now under water. Cunningham says that "the countries from the Sutledge to the Ganges were the richest and most populous districts." For more than two centuries Constantinople carried on a trade "from the banks of the Ganges and Indus. There was an intimate intercourse between Bengal and other Indian countries. Bengal merchants used to go in ships to Ceylon. On the banks of the Ganges there were several flourishing cities." The Magadha merchants used to encourage those who were bold and enterprising and at the same time cautious and circumspect. Traders from Egypt came as far as the Ganges. The Greek traders used to trade with the Ganga, a city on the banks of the river of that name and north-west of Palibothra. In one part of the Bay was Calinga and in another Sonargong, called Jatemala, the capital of which was Vikrampore. The mart of Vikrampore had communication with Sylhet, Assam, Rungpore, and the Bay of Bengal. Silk, iron, skins, and malabathrum were sent from Sylhet and Assam, and spikenard from Rungpore. The exports from the mart were spikenard, pearls, malabathrum, and muslins. Pearls from Tipperah and Mymensing reached Vikrampore, called the gigantic mart. Periplus (A. B. 86-89) speaks of Kaltis as the coin of Lower Bengal, where he notices also gold and silver. Dacca continued as a distinguished city for a long time. It exported manufactures to Ethiopia, Turkey, Syria, Arabia, and Persia. Marco Polo notices spikenard from Sonargong, and Fitch (1586 A.D.) found cotton exported to Malacca and Sumatra via India and Ceylon. The two Mahomedan travellers (ninth century) speak of Bengal (Rami) exporting cotton garments, rhinoceros horns, Lign aloes, and skins. Chittagong was another important mart, which used to receive silk, iron and skins, from Serica (Assam,) malabathrum, a

* The derivation is, we think, open to question.—Ed. C. H.

species of cinnamon *Albiflora* from Assam and Sylhet, and spikenard from Rungpore. The tree grew in Rungpore up to Mussorie. *Malabathrum* was from the leaves, and was used as a perfume. The Greeks and Romans used it in their wine.

Maltebrun states that in Bengal, Orissa, and Allahabad diamonds were plentiful. Macaulay, in his Warren Hastings speech, speaks of the "muslins of Bengal" in the bazars of Benares.

Dragjotish is supposed to be Thibet or Assam. It presented to Yudisthira sharp swords, javelins, spears, hatchets and battle-axes. Heeren notices a route from Bootan to Rungpore. Pemberton writes that in 1683 the trade between Bengal, Bootan and Tibet was well known. At Cooch Behar caravans used to assemble, and merchants came from China, Muscovy, or Tartary to buy musk, cambals (blankets,) agates, silk, pepper, and saffron of Persia. Agates were the tortoise shell forming the principal ornament of Booteah and Tibetan women. The articles which were sent to Rungpore were woollen cloths, hats, boots, small horses, and choury tailed cattle.

Dr. Hunter, in his *Orissa*, says that the five outlying kingdoms of Ancient India were Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Suhma, and Pundra. Anga may mean the Ganges mart on the west of Palibothra, well known to the Greek tradesmen, Banga, Bengal Proper—Kalinga on the Godavari, Suhma, eastward of Bengal, perhaps Tippera or Arracan, and Pundra, or the Paundra, Vardhana of Hiouen T'sang, close to Govindaganj on the Karatoya. It included Rajshahi, Dinagepur, Rungpur, Nuddea, Beerbhoom, Burdwan, Pachowte Palame, and part of Chunar.*

What Kalinga is to the Godavari, Utkal or Udra is to the Mahanadi. The formation of Kalinga is traced to an Indian sage from Northern India. Both Kalinga and Orissa had intimate intercourse with Bengal. Not only Aryans, but Yavanas, or Ionian Greeks, came to Orissa from Bengal. Orissa imported Hindu literature from the valley of the Ganges, which is amply proved by the works written by the Orissa authors. From the same source Orissa received the Buddhistic religion. The promotion of agriculture led to commerce, and commerce to navigation. Both commerce and navigation were so much appreciated that "the rock inscriptions speak of navigation and ship commerce as forming part of the education of the prince." Following the example of Bengal, Orissa made good fabrics.

Dr. Taylor, in his valuable paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Vol. XVI, Part I.) expresses an opinion that *Desarna* might refer to the Sunderbans. Mr. H. T. Rainey

* See Wilson's *Vishnu Purana* and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VI. N.S.

(*Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXX.) writes as follows : "This we venture to think we satisfactorily prove the existence of population in ancient times on a broad and sound basis, and altogether independent of the existence of numerous rivers which may or may not date subsequent to the occurrence of the physical changes referred to above, and to the incursions of the Mugs and Portuguese pirates which we know to have taken place thereafter." There are three other eminent gentlemen who have thrown some light on this subject. Colonel Gastrell "has found some ruins of masonry buildings, the traces of old courtyards, and here and there some garden plants in lot No. 211." Dr. Hunter says that remains of brick ghats and traces of tanks have also been found in isolated parts of the forest, and in one or two localities brick kilns were discovered. Mr. Blochman says "The Sunderbuns—formerly called Chanderbundas or Shaudabundus. In an inscription dated 1136 Sumbut, or A. D 1077, in northern Backergunj. mention is made of a grant of land by Madhava Sen, King of Bengal, to a Brahmin. There are ruins of houses and temples which are known to exist in various places. Todar Mull's rent-roll corresponds with the north boundary of the jungle marked on the survey maps."—(Hunter's Gazetteer) :—The reasonable inference is that the Sunderbund must have been inhabited and formed a part of Bengal. Saugor Island is connected with a legend contained in the Ramayana and Mahabharat (Bana Parva.) The river Ganges goes as far as Hatia-ghur, in the 24-Pergunnahs, near the sea, in honor of king Saugor, from whom Bhagirath was descended, and who is said to have brought the Ganges to wash away the sins of his ancestors. The Saugor Island has been considered a sacred place, being the *asram* of Kapila, and is visited by pilgrims. It appears from the Mahabharat that there was a place on the north-east of the sea before the Ganges emptied itself into it, and the formation of the island took place perhaps subsequently. In that place Kapila resided. Yudisthira, to whom the story of Bhagirath was related, came to Saugor and bathed there. Thence he went with his brothers to Kalinga by sea.—In the Sava Parva, Bhim is described as having visited Saugor Island, which was then governed by Mlecha kings, who gave Bhim different kinds of precious stones, sandalwood, agore, clothes, jewels, blankets, gold, &c., as a mark of allegiance.

Bengal was in the first instance *Brahmanical*. The aborigines were driven away, or employed as servants or labourers. The intercourse between them and the Aryas must therefore have been constant. The language of the Aryas was Sanscrit ; but it ought to be borne in mind that the Sanscrit was of two kinds, *viz*, the natural or spoken Sanscrit, resembling the Pracrit and Pali found even in the Vedas, and artificial or

purified Sanscrit. Language precedes grammar, and the process of purification according to grammar is an after work. When the Rig Veda songs were chanted, they were spontaneous or inspirational, and grammar was not then in existence. The Arya immigrants, coming in contact with the non-Aryas, could not help taking many of their words in forming a language for mutual understanding. The Sanscrit was thus subjected to modification, and in this way different provincial dialects sprung up. The pure Sanscrit remained intact, but was confined to learned circles; although gradually it became simpler, as the Puranas and Itihases were written in a simpler style than the Vedas, Upanishads and Darśanas. The character must have been originally Deb-Nagri. Westmacott, reading an inscription found in Dinagepur and Bogra, * observes:—"The character is in that style of progress towards modern Bengali, which we find in use in the eleventh century of the Christian era." Dr. Rajendra Lala possesses a Bengali MS. which was written seven hundred years ago. We had several Kirtanas who used to sing, reciting the deeds of gods and goddesses in the Bengali language, which was then in an imperfect state. The names of the Kirtanas are Vidyapati, Chundi Das, Briudabone Das, Gobind Das and Chunder Saikur.

Although Buddhism was predominant in Bengal under Buddhist dynasties, and the language used was Pali or Magadhi, yet the Hindu literature was not extinct, and the Bengali language was being formed. It is true that the Pals were Buddhists, but they were tolerant. They appointed Hindus to important offices, and were not hostile to Brahmanism. The gradual decay of Buddhism produced a reaction in favor of Brahmanism. The original conception of God through the soul was abandoned, as such a conception was too lofty for the people at large, whom the founders of the different sects thought it absolutely necessary to work upon. Puranas and Apapuranas were written in different parts of the country in simple Sanscrit, inculcating the worship of particular gods and goddesses, finite in form but infinite in attributes.

Of the Sen kings, Ballal raised the descendants of the five Brahmins and the Kaistas who had come from Canouj, forbidding intermarriage between them and the families which were in Bengal. No less than 150 families sprang from the Canouj Brahmins. A hundred families were settled in Barendra and sixty in Rara. As regards the Kaisth families, Ghose, Bose, and Mittra were declared to be of the first rank.

The capital of Ballal was Vikramপুর.* He was himself a learned

man and an encourager of learning. His son, Lachman Sen, trod the footsteps of his father, and, wishing to imitate Vicramaditya, had five poets attached to his court.

গোবর্দ্ধনশচ স্মরণো জয়দেব উমাপতি :

কবিরাজশচ রণুনি শবিতৌ লক্ষণ স্যচ ।

Goburdhun, Smurana, Jaydeva, Kabiraj and Umapati were the gems of Lachman Sen's court.

Of these, Jaydeva is well known as the author of Gita Gobind. He was a native of Kinduvelwa in Bengal.

Besides the above poets there were Halayudha, Minister of Justice, who wrote Brahma Sarvasa, and several other works on Smriti, besides Banisanhar Natak; Pasapati, his brother, the chief judge and head pundit, who wrote Dasa Karma Dipika, and Pushupati Padha, and another brother of his, who wrote on Smriti, Mimansa and Ahnika Padhati. Notices of a number of works are to be found in the catalogue of Sanscrit MSS. by Dr. Rajenderlala Mitra. In the fourteenth century Sonargong was renowned for "holy and learned men." * Before the time of Lachman literature in Bengal was not in a state of activity.

In Tirhut, Gangasa Upadhya wrote Tutwa Chintamani about seven centuries ago, and Jadadesa Tarkalankar Bhatta, of Nuddea, wrote Turka Tipan about four centuries ago. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Vaishnavism gave an impetus to the cultivation of literature in Bengal. Chaitanya, who was born in Nuddea, was a bold reformer. He denounced caste and taught universal love. He had able co-adjutors in Nityanund and Adwita, and able disciples in Rupa and Sonaton, who were the authors of several works. Ramanand, the founder of the Ramanundi, Surdas, Tulsi Das and Krishna Das, who all lived in Benares, promoted Vaishnavism by *padas*, *duhas*, and songs, which reverberated in Bengal. Of the five schools of Law, Bengal was one. Jimat Vahana wrote a work called Dayacrama Sangraha. Raghunundun lived in the sixteenth century and wrote Daya Tutwa. His fellow-students were Sisomani and Chaitanya.

In 1203 the Hindu kingdom of Bengal had become extinct on Buktyar Khilij taking Nuddea. Bengal then consisted of five divisions:—1, Kara, west of the Hugli and south of the Ganges; 2, Bagdi, Delta of the Ganges; 3, Banga, east of, and beyond the, Delta; 4, Barendra, north of the Padma and between the Karatoya and Mahananda rivers; 5, Mithila, west of the Mahananda. Bengal meant Laknauti, Satagon, and Sonargon. Luknauti con-

sisted of Barendra, with Ducat, and of Raur, to which Lakhnau belonged. *

Although Bengal ceased to be the Hindu Bengal from 1230 A. D., yet in 1550 a king of Orissa was the king of Bengal, and his name was Telinga. The limits of his kingdom were: North, from Tribeni to Hugli, through Bissenpore to the frontier of Putkar; East, the river Hugli, and South, the Godavari, or the Ganga Godavari, and West from Singbhoom to Sonapore. The chief city was Satgong, not far to the North of Hugli. †

He was the last independent king of Orissa. A ghaut and a temple in Tribeni are attributed to him. He was defeated and Bengal again fell into the hands of the Mahomedans.

PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLIII.

† Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XVI. Part I.

ART. VII.—THE OXFORD MISSION.

(Independent Section.)

CATHOLICS probably look with some compassion upon the proselytising efforts of the Anglicans: the position of their Church hardly seeming strong enough to warrant an aggressive policy on the members of other denominations—hardly even to hold its own. Whether or no, Mr. Arthur Wagner of Brighton has “gone over to Rome,” it is the fact that, during the past generation or so, the number and nature of the losses of Anglicanism have been alike significant. Not only have whole tribes of the laity (of both sexes) returned to the old form, but with the exception of the venerable founder of “Puseyism” and the eloquent Canon Liddon, scarcely a clergyman of the party has remained a member of what used to be called the Protestant communion, who is at all distinguished for intellectual stature. From Newman, Manning, Faber, Ward, Oakeley, down to Orby-Shibley and Wagner—if the late announcement be true—the most gifted Anglicans have obeyed the reasoning which drew Chillingworth to Rome more than two centuries before. The average men alone, those who cannot see a logical conclusion, or who lack the courage of their convictions—these, the rank and file, remain; but they lower the tone of the whole body. That the Church, in India at least, is not represented by its strongest and most judicious members, occurrences of recent date have shown, whereby scandal has been caused to the exact class of natives whom Bishop Johnson’s Mission is meant to influence.

It would, therefore, be an interesting task—for those who had means and leisure—to examine the claims of extreme Anglicanism, to detect the disorder which is so ceaselessly sapping the best strength of the party, and to furnish data for deciding whether the new scheme has practical grounds for seeking the sympathy of thinking men. A sufficient synthesis of church history would show how the doctrines arose which the doctors of this school profess to derive from the authority of the primitive Church—and not from Rome. It is hard, however, to allow this profession without strong demonstration. No doubt it is readily conceivable that tenets and practices should be imposed upon men by a living organization, changing with the changing times; still more so, when resting always on an “immoveable rock”; but it is different when teachers profess to galvanise dead doctrines, or to crystallise a rule of faith by shaking together the speculations of an ignorant and chaotic period long and irretrievably gone by.

What was the real state of things amid which the Primitive Church arose, is shown by Gibbon, and it is much to that great

writer's credit that he has examined with so intelligent a sympathy a set of men and manners which personally could have interested him but faintly. His famous fifteenth chapter is indeed too much coloured by his peculiar character, and it has the special fault of sometimes putting effects for causes. The true cause of Christianity taking root and spreading, that is to say (the antecedent without which the event could not have resulted) was not clear to Gibbon's mind. It must be sought in a tendency from which that mind was quite free, the craving of the human soul for knowledge of the unknown, for positive certainty on a subject dear to man's self-love. This sort of spiritual curiosity for a solution of the enigmas of life exists among the multitude of mankind; and, at the fall of the Roman Republic, it had certainly not been satisfied either by the conflict of philosophies or by the sensuous mythologies of Paganism. Most men expect too much from life, and a revelation which offers to console their disappointments will be necessarily welcome.

In Gibbon's sixteenth chapter is contained a most lucid account of the manner in which this attempt was viewed by the Imperial Government. Eagerly accepted by the unprivileged and the oppressed; by the slaves, the Syrians, and the classes, generally, who found this world a scene of constant tribulation, Christianity in those days was less a system of theology than a secret society of the proletariat, binding together its members in common aspirations and hopes. In the Apocalypse of our Scripture, and still more in the Sibylline verses of the period, we can see the signs of a socialistic propaganda which led the Romans of those days to regard Christians with peculiar aversion and to visit them with occasional persecution in the midst of an otherwise universal toleration. It is perhaps easy to understand this in India. Indian readers can hardly have forgotten the Kuka movement and the case of Mr. Cowan; and the feelings which then actuated some of the Anglo-Indian community and its officials towards the followers of the Punjab carpenter afford a clear reflection of what must be the attitude of any governing class in apparently similar circumstances.

In his twentieth and two following chapters the historian pursues his examination. From the accession of the first Christian Emperor, Constantine, in 312, to the apostasy of Julian in 361, we see the transformation of Christianity from its early character to a creed with an official position; and we follow the growth of the doctrine of the Trinity. And what is wanting, in the way of spiritual insight and interest, will be found amply supplied by the clerical commentator on Gibbon, the late Dean Milman, whose *Latin Christianity* forms an admirable and learned specialisation

of that part of the subject. Though not a party leader, the late Dean of St. Paul's was a loyal churchman, and his review of the origin of the Church deserves attention.

We may take Anglo-Catholicism—though a contradiction in terms—to be a natural outcome of many worthy qualities: prudence, holy aspiration, sympathy, a desire to join the good of the past with the good of the present. The Reformers of the Sixteenth Century are felt, it seems, to have been men who, however timidly, set the dangerous example of freethinking. The danger is this: it is assumed that, in order to the purification of each man's own mind, and of that aggregate of all minds, public opinion, there must be some basis, conventional even, if not authoritative, on which to rest our ideas of ultimate moral excellence. Emotions, such as we willingly share with all good men and women, must be kindled by some central light. Finally, we should not be allowed to break altogether with those high natures who, in times of greater darkness and difficulty, worked out their own salvation, and that of society, perhaps, at the same time. For the fulfilment of these acquirements, it has appeared right to many good men in England, almost ever since the days of Elizabeth, to represent the Anglican Church as no mere offspring of rebellion against the visible Church of the West to which our ancestors so long adhered, no civic bulwark erected by Crown and Parliament against "the monstrous usurpation of the Bishop of Rome." It is, according to this view, a maintenance, or at least a reproduction, of the Primitive Church, and the standard of conformity is to be found in the faith of Christendom for the first four centuries, and in the divinely-inspired councils of the Œcumenic Church at Nikaia and Sardika, when Christianity was a federation of local communities, with independence in each, subordinated only to the rulings of the Universal Synod.

Let us briefly inquire into the two questions here involved:—

1. Was there ever a time in which this ideal actually prevailed?

2. Does the modern Anglican Church of England, as by law established, present an accurate realising of such ideal?

Christianity certainly emerges from the age of the Apostles as a Syro-Greek system. The Grecian language, the commercial language of Syria and Palestine and of the civilised lands nearest to them, was the mother-tongue of the Apostle of the Gentiles, Paul of Tarsus; it also was the language in which were written all, or almost all, of the books of the New Testament; and the Syro-Greek Church was at first such a federation as has been above supposed. But it was merely a supine and obscure collection

of conquered men, of "esurient Greeklings," seeking the road to Heaven when oppressed on Earth. It was a short-lived communistic society of scattered Lodges, who took little pains to propagate their creed, who expected the end of the world, and whose highest occupations consisted of speculative discussion about the metaphysics of Christ's nature. Such a system could never have become the creed of the civilised world. It was first in Africa, and afterwards in Rome, that Christianity became an active, aggressive, practical system. With the doubtful* exception of certain wild tribes, the early Greek Christians had made few proselytes. But, in the beginning of the Third Century began a new epoch.* Catching inspiration from Alexandria (and still writing partially in Greek), Tertullian confronted the Roman world in its own language, as the apologist of the new faith. And almost immediately Rome became the centre of active Christianity. The Bishop of Rome was made the arbitrator of the dispute about the date for solemnising Easter. The work attributed to Hippolytus shows the same Bishop, or "Pope," immersed in a serious controversy about Christ's divinity, to which he attempted to give an authoritative † determination.

Three successive Popes wavered in their attempts to trim the scales between the "Ditheists" and the "Patripassians." As yet there was no mention of "The Trinity." ‡ During the Decian persecution, the closest intercourse was carried on between Rome and Carthage. At the end of that period—A. D. 252—broke out the heresy of Novatian, whose great opponent, Cyprian (himself a member of the African Church), erected the See of Rome into Metropolitan preeminence. "This Utopia of Cyprian placed St. Peter at the head of the College of co-equal Apostles.....The succession of the Bishop of Rome from St. Peter was now an accredited tradition.....Nor did Cyprian scruple to admit.....a kind of primacy, of dignity at least, in the Metropolitan Bishop." §

In the year 312 Constantine appears, the first Christian Emperor. Now commenced the Papal supremacy in all the affairs of Christendom. "The Bishop is the first Christian in the first city of the world, and that city is, legally, Christian.....The schisms and factions of Christianity now become affairs of State. As long as Rome is the imperial residence, an appeal to the Emperor is an appeal to the Bishop of Rome." ||

Nor did the transfer of the seat of Empire diminish this supremacy

* Millman's *Latin Christianity*, I. 5.

† *Ibid.*, 35.

‡ *Ibid.*, 49.

§ *Ibid.*, 65.

|| *Ibid.*, 71.

of the Roman See. The indolent, speculative, Byzantine Church became practically separated from the administrative action of the more venerable, yet more active, community of St. Peter. There was no doctrinal schism. Only the Church of Rome gathered up her strength, while her adversaries wasted theirs in controversy. The Holy See was indeed drawn into the Arian-question; but this was mainly due to secular considerations; the Council which pronounced against the tenets of Athanasius was held at Constantinople; at the earlier (the first Œcumenical) Council, that of Nikaia, or Nice—Rome was only represented by two Presbyters, when the views of Athanasius had been adopted, the famous instrument still called the "Nicene Creed." Thus two Greek Councils had diametrically contradicted each other upon the most central and vital question of Christianity. The contradiction indicated the moment for Rome to stand forth as arbiter.

Athanasius spent three years in Rome, studying the Latin language and throwing over the Pope, Julius I., the spell of his mental ascendancy. In 342 a local synod proclaimed in his favour at Rome. Five years later a fresh Council—in which Rome was represented—was held at Sardika, or Sardis; and at this not only was the modern doctrine of all orthodox Christendom established, but it was decided that the State was of no authority in ecclesiastical matters. The authority of the Arian Emperor, Constantine, was negatived; the decision of the Council of Constantinople was set aside; and the right of appeal to Rome was solemnly pronounced over an area co-extensive with the Western Empire. In 381 Pope Damasus had so far reunited the Eastern and Western Churches as to obtain the presidential chair at another Council of Constantinople*; a few years later the supremacy of Rome over Western Christianity† was riveted by the appearance of the Vulgate; 385 saw the promulgation of the Decretal of Siricius, the successor of Damasus in the Papal Chair; a document which throughout supposes that the usages of the Church of Rome were to be received as those of Christendom.‡ Yet Paganism continued to exist in Rome, side by side with the new religion. The Emperor was still "Pontifex Maximus"; the splendid temples of the old gods were still frequented; their statues crowded the Forum; the leading patrician families still observed their worship. But in 410 Pagan Rome was entirely destroyed by the Goths; the nobility were driven into hopeless exile; Christian Rome and THE POPE, as the world has since known him, emerged from the ruins. The ancient hierarchy—high priests,

* Milman's *Latin Christianity*, 90.

† *Ibid*, 155.

‡ *Ibid*, 96

Flamens, Augurs, Vestal Virgins—disappeared; and Innocent I. sat upon the Pontifical Chair, by his own award, superior to all powers, lay or ecclesiastical; dispenser of grace and arbiter of all disputes throughout the Western World. This is probably the epoch claimed by Anglicans as that of Roman schism.

But the Pope was not even yet infallible. As Liberius had wavered on the doctrine of the Trinity, so did Zosimus (417) halt in the Pelagian controversy, and finally yield to secular dictation. It was not until compelled by an imperial edict, that the Pope finally retracted his heretical leanings, and addressed an encyclical to all the Bishops of Christendom, in which he anathematised the followers of Pelagius.

So far the Popes had prospered. But it was only as exponents of public opinion, and as leaders of the West against the dissensions and the corruption of the East. "It was not till a much later period that the claim to personal infallibility, to sole Dictatorship over the Christianity of the world, was either advanced or thought necessary; the present infallibility was but the expression of the universal, or at least predominant, sentiment of mankind."* It was in this manner that the orthodox creed was gradually formed at Rome and acquired its oecumenical character, so that the dissident churches are necessarily schismatic.

This, according to the testimony of an eminent dignitary of the Anglican Church, was the story of the rise of the original Western Church. And it shows that, from the very beginning, that Church was opposed to the federal idea, and that its aim at sovereignty was instinctive, necessitated by circumstances, and in no special degree due to ambitious or sinister motives.

This is the answer to our first question. There was never at any part of the four centuries after actual Apostolic times, such a state of things as the Anglican theory supposes. The Primitive Church was at first, like all undeveloped organisms, homogeneous, indefinite, without clear doctrines, or due co-ordination of parts. But it was growing, and, as it grew, it advanced in all these respects, leaving behind it in the rust of barbarism those dead or decaying branches which would not join in the developing Kosmos. The first four centuries are not separated by any abrupt line of demarcation from those which succeeded; and, so far from the Arcadian accord and perfection of belief attributed to them, were full of doubt, dispute, heresy, and a gradual approach to the modern Roman standard of catholicity in faith and discipline.

It becomes unnecessary, indeed impossible, under these circumstances, to give any formal reply to the second question. There having been no such ideal as was supposed in the first question,

* This happened again so late as Chair at Constantinople. 681, when Pope Agathon was in the

the Church of England cannot have realised it. But the Church of England, established by Acts of Parliament, has no doubt done its best to maintain a becoming continuity with the better mind of the Western Church, as shown in the Council of Nicaea. In renouncing the infallibility of the Papal See, she has done what other Churches, in various ages, countries, communities, almost since the days of Charlemagne, have tried to do. In the older instances—time and place not suiting—the endeavour was without success. In the sixteenth century England was ripe for independence, and the sovereignty of Rome was shaken off. But this result—however frequently dreamed of in the past—was really a new thing, not a return to ancient practice. The idea that the Anglican Church was of Apostolic origin and radically independent of Rome is a mere myth. Our forefathers were converted at the beginning of the Seventh Century by Roman missionaries. At that time the Keltic-British Church (by whomsoever founded) had been hunted into Wales by the heathen English. After they were converted, it did not amalgamate with the English Church for centuries, and it has now almost left that Church's pale again. It is indeed more truly represented by Welsh Methodism than by the State Church, which (however reformed) is still of Roman origin.

The presumable, if not self-evident, corollary is not without importance for the educated natives of India. Their English well-wishers are approaching the bifurcation of two infinitely divergent roads. Those who adhere to the orthodoxy of the Councils and Fathers must make the best terms that they can with the Holy See. The fates of the Old Catholics of Germany and of the earlier attempt to form an orthodox Gallican Church in France are not encouraging. But that is their affair; and if they find that their path lands them into Ultramontaniam, they cannot wonder. For those who prefer to remain Protestants there is first the stage arrived at by Farrar and Stanley, then the "Creed of Christendom" of Mr. Rathbone Greg, and in the far distance perhaps—the ultimate haven of Herbert Spencer. For the earnest of all classes there is only one common certainty—on this side of the grave at least—namely, that none of them can remain stationary.

This being so, it may safely be concluded that the proposed Oxford Mission carries with it the certain elements of failure. No more hopeless undertaking can be imagined than an appeal to educated Hindus from High Anglicanism. The best efforts of the Church of Rome have broken themselves in vain for three centuries on the rocks of a subtler philosophy among the thoughtful and a more populous pantheon among those of a more sensuous mind.

January 1880.

ART. VIII.—ORIENTAL FOLKLORE. BY E. REHATSEK.

I.

Shapur, the King of Persia, and the Roman Emperor.

IT is related that, when Shapur Dhù-l-Aktaf, the son of Hormuzd, had proposed to travel incognito to the Roman Empire, in order personally to explore the state of it, his most faithful councillors endeavoured to dissuade him from the undertaking, alleging that others ought to be entrusted therewith. He was, however, deaf to their entreaties, commanded them to keep his intention secret, and prepared himself to execute it.

Shapur selected for his travelling companion one of the viziers who had already served his father. He was an elderly man, cunning, firm, quick-witted, practical in business, a theologian, learned in the sciences, and versed in the stratagems of war. To him Shapur entrusted all that he thought would be useful or pleasant in the journey, and recommended him to travel separately, but nevertheless so near as to be able to watch over the person of his master in every emergency, day and night.

In this manner they began their journey through Syria. The vizier, who spoke the language of the country, disguised himself as a friar, and, being acquainted with surgery, he carried Chinese balsam, which, being applied to wounds, heals them immediately. Whilst they were thus travelling, the vizier cured many wounds by applying to them only a little of this balsam, which immediately produced its salutary effect. On meeting persons of quality, he took greater pains to cure them, and afterwards refused to accept any kind of recompense. Thus he acquired in that country the good wishes of all, and gained the reputation of a learned and a pious man.

Travelling separately, as we have already observed, Shapur and his vizier, who watched with constant care over the person of the king, passed through Syria, through the gates of Cilicia, and at last reached Constantinople. There the vizier enquired after the patriarch, a title which means father of fathers, and, having found him, obtained an audience. Thereat he informed him that he had left Syria in order to have the honour of placing himself at the service of the patriarch, to whom he made at the same time a most beautiful present, which was received with pleasure. In a short time great friendship sprung up between the vizier and the patriarch, who, after discovering his high attainments, listened to him as to an oracle. The vizier, on his part, studied the disposition of the patriarch in order to insinuate himself into his favour,

and, finding that although his foible was the discussion of the canonical law, he nevertheless listened with open mouth to wonderful stories, he entertained him with curious anecdotes and strange romances. Meanwhile, he continued to practise surgery gratuitously, and gained in reputation with the public.

In spite of his other occupations, the vizier never flagged one moment in his attentions to Shapur; and, when it happened that the Qayser announced his intention of giving a banquet, at which all the citizens, according to their various degrees, were to be present, on peril of incurring his displeasure, Shapur took it into his head likewise to see the face of the Qayser, to observe the various orders of the Court, and to view the costly ornaments in the palace. The vizier tried hard to hinder him from exposing himself to this new risk of being discovered, but he presented himself nevertheless at the palace with all the other guests, after putting on a disguise in which he imagined that he could not be recognized.

The Qayser had long ago become aware of the high attainments of Shapur, such as his sagacity, greatness of mind, and his extreme courage, of which he had given proofs from infancy. Being very suspicious and curious about Shapur, he had sent a good painter to the capital of Persia, to draw pictures of him in various positions in which he might happen to see him, such as sitting in the royal halls, on horseback, and in other attitudes. When the artist returned with his designs, the Qayser got them executed on tapestry, curtains, vases and cups.

Whilst Shapur was sitting in the palace with the other guests, at table, the viands were served, and the beverages offered in cups of crystal, of gold, of silver, and of massive glass. Among the guests there happened to be a wise and cunning Roman, who was also a clever physiognomist, and who, having cast a glance upon Shapur without knowing him, began to contemplate his features, and thought he perceived that there was something royal in the expression of his face. Whilst he was thus engaged in scrutinising the countenance of Shapur, and cups were being handed round, one with Shapur's portrait was offered to him, and, after holding it for a while in his hand, he said, raising his voice:—"The effigy here engraved informs me of extraordinary news." "What is it?" asked all who were near. "Well," he continued, "this portrait tells me that its original is here with us, seated at these tables," turning towards Shapur, who changed colour at the first words. Now, the physiognomist was certain that what he had before only suspected, must be true, and repeated his assertion, so that the Qayser could hear it. The stranger was hereon examined, and tried to evade the question under various pretexts, but the physiognomist continued:—"Do not believe him, he is certainly Shapur."

To intimidate him, the Qayser threatened him with immediate death, and Shapur confessed his identity.

The Qayser now sent Shapur to prison, and had a cage prepared for him in the form of an ox of immense size, composed of seven hides laid over each other, with an aperture beneath, and a small window above, for the purpose of entering or handing food to the occupant. The wrists of the prisoner were fettered by a golden chain attached to his neck, but long enough to allow of the use of the hands for eating, and he was placed in the cage.

The Qayser assembled his army, and made all the necessary preparations for invading the kingdom of Persia. He appointed one hundred of the most valiant and the strongest men, who carried this strange litter and relieved each other by turns; every five of them were under the orders of a corporal, but the commander of all was the Metropolitan, a title which designates the governor of a province, but is restricted to the clergy, meaning the Vicar of the patriarch. The bull of Shapur was, during the march, to be carried under the eyes of the metropolitan; but when the army halted it was to be placed in the centre of the camp, and sheltered by a tent. Fifty men of the guard, with their corporals, were to be the escort without the tent, and the remaining fifty, drawn up in five squads, were to encircle the interior. The tent of the metropolitan was to be by the side of that of Shapur. Lastly, a hut was put up, to serve as a kitchen for the whole escort, wherein to prepare food for every one according to his rank and dignity.

Having diligently arranged all matters concerning the army, the Qayser believed that he could overthrow the kingdom of Persia, as there was no one to defend it. Accordingly, the Qayser began his march with the army and Shapur in the cage, as we have narrated above. On that occasion the Vizier spoke to the patriarch as follows:—"My ardent desire to perform good works has induced me, O! excellent father, to place myself at your service. But what thing more precious can there be than to lighten the sorrows of the afflicted, and to afford aid to those who have the greatest need of it? You know, O! father, that I am not inexperienced in the healing of wounds, and you may well understand how anxious I am to follow the Qayser in this campaign: God may perhaps be pleased to save the life of some good Christian through my ministry." The patriarch, displeased with this request, said:—"You know that I cannot remain a moment without you, and you ask me to let you depart on so distant a journey? Indeed, I never thought you would desire to impose on me a burden which I could not bear, and believed that you could prefer nothing in the world to my friendship, or to

remaining near me. Now you have destroyed the good opinion I entertained about you."

The vizier, however, repeated his request and insisted on it so much, that the patriarch at last, not only granted it, but provided him with all necessaries for the journey, and wrote a letter to the metropolitan, in which he recommended him to treat the vizier as his best friend, to keep him always near his person, and to consult him in every difficult matter.

When the vizier went to the metropolitan, the latter showed him every consideration, and lodged him in his own tent. The vizier did his best to ingratiate himself with the metropolitan, entertained him with pleasant stories, and always spoke so loud that Shapur could hear him. Thus he procured some relief to his sovereign, and sometimes intermingled with his narratives the information he desired to give and the secrets he intended to convey to him in a manner. So the prisoner obtained much consolation, and the vizier, who was most anxious to liberate him, began to work out the scheme he had devised.

One of the stratagems of the vizier was that he always refused to dine with the metropolitan, pretending that he would not eat of any other provisions except those with which the patriarch had supplied him when he commenced the journey, because he expected some great spiritual benefit from that diet; therefore he scarcely touched anything at the table of the metropolitan, but produced some of his own food and consumed it.

When the Qayser had entered Persia with his army, he began to devastate the country, to make prisoners, to destroy trees, and to raze fortresses. He marched straight towards the capital, in order to subjugate it by one bold stroke, so that the nobles of the country might have no opportunity to unite for defence, or to elect another king able to concentrate all the resources of the country to oppose the invader. Hitherto the Persians had done nothing, except flee from before the enemy and take refuge in their castles.

The Qayser, having reached the residence of Shapur and the capital of the empire; named Gandishapur, besieged it and erected his catapults, so that the grandees within the walls could not devise any other tactics but to fortify them as much as possible and to fight from the top of the ramparts.

Shapur had become aware of all these events by interpreting the mysterious hints and allegories the vizier had dropped in his conversations and narratives, although he had not seen the face of the king since his confinement in the cage. On learning that the Qayser pressed the siege more and more, that his engines were making breaches in the walls, and that the capital must soon

fall, Shapur lost all patience. He supposed that his vizier also had become disheartened and lost every hope. Then the guard came and brought him his food. "This chain," said he, "torments me so much that I can no longer bear it. If you do not want me to die, relent a little, and put some cloth on my neck and my wrists, where the chain rubs them." When the guard returned, he reported the words of Shapur to the metropolitan in the hearing of the vizier, who thus became aware of the desperate state of the king, and endeavoured to counteract the sinister design he was revolving in this mind.

As it was night and the vizier sat in the company of the metropolitan, he said:—"Just now a wonderful story occurs to me, which I have known many years, and intended to narrate to the patriarch before my departure." "O! relate it to me, my learned hermit," replied the metropolitan.

"Willingly," said the vizier, and, raising his voice, so that Shapur could hear it, he began as follows:—

"In Syria there lived a young man and woman, of charming aspect and a very lively temper; the name of the youth was Ain-Ahlih and the old slave woman. Ain-Ahlih (Eye of his family), and that of his partner Sitt-ennar (Lady of the fire). They were man and wife, attached to each other by the most ardent love, and apparently inseparable. It happened, however, one day, when Ain-Ahlih was gossiping about women with a company of friends, one of them lauded to the skies the beauty and vivacity of a lady whose name was Sitt-ezzeheb (Lady of gold). Ain-Ahlih took a fancy to her, and, being told that she lived in the next village, thought of her alone. His love for Sitt-ennar waxed cold, and he sighed only for Sitt-ezzeheb. At last he hastened to the village, sought the house, and found it. He walked so often near the house that he at length caught a glance of the lady. Her beauty enchanted him, but she was not as handsome as Sitt-ennar.

Unable to resist his desire to possess the lady, the young man entered the house and began to converse with her, when her husband Ez-zib (The wolf), a ferocious and strong man, appeared, collared Ain-Ahlih, ill-treated him cruelly, tore his clothes, slew his horse, and, calling some friends, had him carried to the desert, where they tied him to a tent-post, and gave him in charge of a squinting old woman, without a nose, and with only one hand, and of sinister aspect.

When the night set in, the hag kindled a small fire near Ain-Ahlih, and squatted down to warm herself. In this miserable plight the youth thought of the easy and pleasant life he had enjoyed, and heaved a deep sigh. "O! Sheikh," said the

old woman, "What fault has brought you to this abasement and tribulation?" "I am not conscious of having committed any fault," replied Ain-Ahlih; but the hag continued:—"Thus spoke also the horse to the wild-boar, but the latter would not believe him. When further the horse communicated to him his adventures, the wild-boar adduced an argument of which he had never thought, so that at last the horse was obliged to confess his own fault." "If you were to narrate to me this fact, and tell me how it happened," replied Ain-Ahlih, "you would oblige me highly." Accordingly the old woman continued thus:—

"It is related that a valiant cavalier possessed a charger whom he greatly valued, caressed much, and rode in the most arduous undertakings. He could not be away a moment from his horse. In the morning he

The horse and the
wild boar.

led it to a meadow, where he took off its saddle and bridle, allowing it to browse and to roll about in the grass till the sun rose high, when he led it back to the house. One day, however, when he had as usual come out with the horse, and scarcely dismounted, the charger escaped, galloping away at full speed, and the cavalier tried to recover it, but in vain. He lost sight of the horse, and, despairing of getting it back, returned home towards the evening wearied and exhausted. The animal perceived that it was no longer pursued when the night set in, but began also to feel the pangs of hunger, and desired to graze; the iron-bit in its mouth, however, proved to be a hindrance; then it wished to roll about on the ground, but the saddle impeded it; lastly, it endeavoured to take rest by lying upon one of its sides, when the stirrup-iron made itself felt. Thus one horrible night elapsed.

In the morning the charger again began its course, and lo! a river crossed its way. It became necessary to cross over the water, which, as it was deep, could not be done except by swimming. As the girth and the poutrel had not been made of well-dressed leather, it happened that, after the charger had come out of the water and the rays of the sun fell on these pieces, they dried, and becoming tightened, distressed the horse, which, being pressed also by hunger, was in a few days reduced to such a state of weakness that it could scarcely walk.

On this occasion a wild boar came in sight, which wished first to pass the horse by, but, perceiving it to be so feeble, he inquired the reason. The charger related the sufferings it endured from the bridle, the poutrel, and the saddle, and requested the boar to have mercy upon him and to deliver him from these things. The wild boar, however, first desired to know by what crime the horse had drawn upon himself this punishment, but, as he pretended to

have committed no fault, the boar rejoined :—"No, no. There can be only two cases ;—you are either a liar, or ignorant of your guilt. If you told me a falsehood, it is not my duty to break these bonds of yours, nor to render you any good office, nor could I accept you for a client, nor expect gratitude from you, or take any reward. If, however, you are ignorant of what made you deserve your present punishment, then be aware that ignorance of guilt is more culpable than guilt itself, because he who knows not his own sins, persists in them, and can never hope to abandon them."

"At any rate," replied the horse, "you ought not to refuse to do good to a fellow-creature."

"I do not mean to refuse entirely," said the boar, "but you must narrate to me your case and explain how you have fallen into your present trouble, as well as how you lived before, that I may know wherefore this misfortune has befallen you."

Accordingly the horse related his whole history, not omitting the good treatment he had experienced from the cavalier, nor the manner in which he had abandoned him, nor the accidents he had encountered on the road until he met the boar. Hereon the latter said :—"I perceive that you are ignorant of your own faults, although you have committed not less than six. The first is that you have disappointed the cavalier who wished to keep you at hand for his use ; the second, your ingratitude for his kindness ; the third, your putting him to so much trouble in following you ; the fourth, your taking what did not belong to you, such as the bridle and saddle ; the fifth is your coveting a wild life in which you have neither been born, nor are able to abide. The sixth is your obstinacy and perseverance in guilt, because you might well have returned to your master and begged his pardon, confessing your deep ignorance of the facts that the bit would cause you to suffer hunger, and that the poutrel would torture you."

"Now," replied the horse, "as you have explained to me my faults, and opened my eyes, and shewn me what I could not see, blinded as I was by the veil of ignorance, loosen my bonds and allow me to roam about."

"At last you know," said the boar, "what you have done, and you may, by reflecting on your faults, consider that you have deserved this punishment for your ignorance, and must henceforth endeavour to walk according to the dictates of reason." After these words the wild boar destroyed the bridle, made the girth fall off, and saved the life of the horse.

Ain-Ahlih, who had listened attentively to the story which the old woman narrated, now turned to her and said :—"You have

spoken the truth, and have, in this parable, clearly unveiled my case; you have taught me a rare maxim, and given me a lesson which I have learnt well, as well as an admonition by which I shall not fail to profit." Then he narrated his case to her, and requested her kindly to liberate him as the wild-boar had done the horse.

"You are too simple," answered the hag, "and do not consider many things; then you ask me for a thing which I can at present by no means do. Afterwards I may perhaps be able to give you some relief and find a way of deliverance for you; but you must have patience." Then she became silent.

The vizier now turned to the metropolitan, and complained of a severe headache, and such weakness in every part of his body that Continuation of the story of Shapur. he could not finish his narrative. He added, however, that he hoped to be able to complete it the next evening if he felt better and recovered his strength. Then he prepared to go to bed.

Whilst Shapur meditated on the fate of the vizier and on the allegories it contained, he concluded that the name Ain-Ahlih applied to himself as King of Persia; Sitt-ennâr to his country because the people adored fire; and Sitt-ezzeheb to the Roman Empire on account of its riches. The name of Ez-zib, the supposed husband of Sitt-ezzeheb, applied to the king of the Romans, who had been ferocious enough to capture and imprison Shapur in a cage made of ox-hides. The desire of Shapur to see the Roman Empire with his own eyes was represented by the anxiety of Ain-Ahlih to behold the lady, and the imprisonment of the king by the captivity of the youth. By means of philosophical similes, the vizier intended to reprove Shapur's temerity in courting danger and resisting the advice of his most faithful councillors. Lastly, wishing to represent himself, the life he led, the weakness and abasement he had fallen into by being obliged to cajole and flatter the metropolitan as his companion, the vizier invented the character of that crippled, squinting, mutilated hag of sinister aspect. He at the same time informed Shapur that he could not liberate him forthwith, but that he was taking efficacious means to that effect. After the king had reflected over all these matters, he became calm, regained confidence in his vizier, and breathed more freely. Thus the night and the next day elapsed.

In the evening the metropolitan hastened to the usual interview, and, turning to the vizier, said:—"Wise hermit, narrate to me what became of Ain-Ahlih, how his calamity ended, and whether the old woman succeeded in rescuing him from the power of Ez-zib. I am very curious to know it, and I behold you full of health this evening." •

"To hear your words, and to obey your commands, are one," replied the vizier, and again took up the thread of his narrative.

"Ain-Ahlih, who had remained fettered all night and suffered much, saw in the morning Ez-zib arrive, who threatened him with death, added a heavy pair of shackles to his bonds, and departed. Ain-Ahlih endeavoured to cheat the hours of the day by nourishing himself with hopes, but when the night set in and covered him with its veil, uneasiness and melancholy overpowered him, so that he wept and sighed till the old woman came, lit the fire, and sitting down near the youth, said :—"Have patience and remember the tribulations of others, which may console you. Do not forget that, as life yet remains, you possess a great blessing."

"Alas!" replied Ain-Ahlih, "it may well be said that those who are free regard lightly the miseries of prisoners." "O! young man," interrupted she, "how many truths you are ignorant of on account of your immature age! Now will you listen to a story which will afford you some consolation?" "Willingly," quoth Ain-Ahlih, "pray narrate it." Then the old woman spoke as follows :—

A rich merchant had an only son whom he loved much, or rather idolized. It happened that a friend presented the boy with a little gazelle with a white forehead, to which the boy took such a fancy that he could not be away from it a moment. The people of the house made a beautiful collar for the gazelle, and procured a sheep to suckle it until its horns began to sprout. Then the boy anxiously inquired what the gazelle had on its head, and, after obtaining the explanation, he never ceased to admire the blackness and lustre of the little horns, whereon his friends informed him that they would become much longer and stronger. When the child expressed great desire to his father to behold a gazelle with horns fully developed, the good man instantly sent hunters to the country, who succeeded in capturing an antelope two years old, with which the boy was highly pleased. The people of the house also caressed the animal, put a collar on it, and endeavoured to tame it. They were successful, and the antelope suddenly manifested great attachment towards the gazelle on account of the affinity of their species.

One day the gazelle said to the antelope :—"Before I saw you, I never thought that there could be another animal on earth which resembled me; now, however, I understand that you could not be the only one." "Certainly not," replied the antelope, "there are very many." The gazelle asked where they could be found, and was informed how they led a wild and roaming life in

deserts, fleeing the sight of men; how they grazed and drank, how they loved each other, and bred. Now the eyes of the gazelle radiated with joy; and it wished to see them, and to live with them.

"No," replied the antelope, "this wish will do you no good. You have been brought up on delicacies, far from perils, and are acquainted with nobody. If you carry out your desire, you will have occasion to repent of it."

"Nevertheless," replied the gazelle, "I must carry it out at all hazards. I want to meet my own species." Though the antelope tried much, it could not dissuade the gazelle from this intention, and, fearing that it would, on account of its simplicity and inability to elude the wiles of men, encounter misfortunes before attaining the wished-for end, the antelope generously determined to follow it and fulfil towards it the duties of a companion and a parent. Having selected an opportune moment for their flight, they left the house and ran in to the desert. At the sight of the wide plain the gazelle could no longer moderate its pleasure, but rushed forward in its wild ecstasy of joy and was stopped by nothing till it fell into a hole excavated by torrents and stuck fast there. It hoped the antelope would suddenly come and liberate it, but, not seeing the deliverer appear, it remained where it was.

When the boy got up in the morning and could find neither the gazelle nor the antelope, he was so inconsolable that his father, pitying his sorrow, assembled all the hunters of the country, narrated to them the case, and induced them to go in quest of the little animals on the promise of a good reward to whosoever might find them. The hunters at once proceeded to scour the hills and dales, and the merchant, mounting his palfrey, distributed his family at the gates of the city to see the return of the hunters, whilst he himself went with two slaves also to the desert. There he beheld from a distance a man bending over an object near his feet. He made haste and reached him, and lo! he was a huntsman about to slaughter an antelope. The merchant looked well at the antelope and recognised it as his own, and having caused his slaves to search the man, they found the collar of the animal. Hereon the merchant asked the hunter how he had found it, and he replied as follows:—

"Last night," said he, "I went to the desert to hunt, and spread out my net, near which I laid myself down, and towards the morning an antelope and a gazelle came in sight. The gazelle pursued a course in another direction than the net and disappeared; the antelope, however, approached, entered the net, was caught, and I started with it towards the city; but when I reached this spot, it occurred to me that it would be imprudent to risk being taken to account for the sake of the ornaments which the antelope had on

its neck and which would be seen by every body ; accordingly I determined to cut the throat of the animal and to carry it to the city as game. This is the whole of my story."

After the merchant had sent the antelope to his son by his slaves, he said to the huntsman :—" Come and show me where the gazelle is, and I shall reward you." Accordingly they roamed about together until they at last heard the cry of the gazelle, and the merchant called it. The little beast, recognizing the voice of its master, answered bleating ; the two men now followed its voice, and soon discovered the gazelle in a hole, or rather a cleft, from which the merchant drew it out, and, having presented the huntsman with a dirhem, turned homewards with the gazelle to make the joy of his little son complete.

As to the gazelle, it avoided the antelope whenever it happened to be near, and fled in dismay. The little boy was much distressed at this estrangement of the two beasts, and the family endeavoured to reconcile them, but always in vain. At last one day, whilst the gazelle was sleeping in a corner of the house, the antelope approached it with the intention of taking it to task for its broken friendship and savage estrangement. " Have you then forgotten your perfidy ?" said the gazelle. " Had I no need of you in that calamity ? I never imagined that you could fail to succour me !" " But I have neither betrayed nor abandoned you," replied the antelope ; " are you aware that you accuse me only because you have no experience and are fickle ? If I did not hasten to deliver you from the peril into which you had fallen, I was retained by a greater force than I could overcome." Then the antelope narrated its own captivity in the net of the huntsman. Then the gazelle learnt that the antelope deserved no blame, and they renewed their former friendship.

From this narrative Ain-Ahlih concluded that the old woman wished to apprise him of her inability to liberate him at once, and he ceased to reproach her.

At this point the vizier became silent. " Well, my learned hermit, why do you stop ?" exclaimed the metropolitan. Why do you hesitate and not tell me how the affair ended ; whether Ain-Ahlih suffered new outrages from Ez-zib, and what services the old woman rendered him ? " I would certainly narrate the whole," quoth the vizier, " were it not for a kind of langour which I feel all over me." " Indeed," rejoined the metropolitan, " I shall not allow you to disappoint me every day. Take courage, O ! philosopher ; I desire so much to converse with you, and admire your stories so greatly !"

" And I," replied the vizier, " shall continue, because I have an ardent desire to please you. If you knew, O ! metropolitan, what

marvels and adventures I have in store for you, you would certainly be amazed!" Then he continued:—

We left Ain-Ahlih impressed with the allegory of the old woman and resigned to remain quiet. He nevertheless spent a very uneasy night, and in the morning Ez-zib insulted him, threatened him with death, informing him also that no one could help him or rescue him from his power. The youth again began to accuse himself and to despair; thus the day elapsed. When it was evening, his sorrow became still more poignant, and he broke out in lamentations, whilst hoping that the old woman would arrive, sit down by his side, and tell him little stories. This evening, however, the old woman merely entered the tent and went out again without stopping, wherefore the prisoner thought that his end had come, and that Ez-zib would not fail to kill him. After some hours had thus elapsed, and Ain-Ahlih moaned, whilst his heart palpitated violently, the old woman entered. "What is the matter this evening?" said he, "Why do not you come to console me with some story and to sit near me?" "Let us see," replied she, "whether the story of a one-handed woman, without a nose, wanting one eye, most ugly and wretched, could afford you some consolation and tranquillity, and induce you to praise and to thank God who has preserved you from a calamity much more terrible than yours? Let us see whether you will, after that, dare to say again that the miseries of prisoners seem light to the free! Ah! had you been able to draw a conclusion from the aspect of my person, what the internal condition of my mind was, it would have sufficed to convince you how much more atrocious my case is than yours. Harken to me, little man, and I shall tell you my story."

"Be aware that I was once the wife of one of the first cavaliers of our country, who lavished all his love and caresses upon me, with whom I lived many years, the most joyous and delightful life, and to whom I bore sons and daughters who grew up in prosperity and riches. It happened that, for some reason not necessary to relate, the king became so incensed against my husband, that he killed not only him, but all my sons, and sold my daughters, whom he separated, into slavery. I was sold to the cavalier who has taken offence at you, and he took me to his village. Being, however, of a brutal and ferocious nature, he ill-treated me, and exacted more labour from me than I was able to perform, wherefore he tyrannised over me and chastised me without any fault of mine. I tried in vain many times to propitiate him; in vain I sought the intercession of the persons and friends he honoured most, for the alleviation of my fate, or to induce him to sell me to some other party, but these endeavours made him

only more obdurate in persecuting me. After seven years of such an existence, I resolved to escape, but he pursued and caught me, cut off my nose, and renewed his cruelties. Then I resorted to the expedient of imploring him to have mercy on me, but, not meeting with success, I again fled, and was taken again. This time he knocked out one of my eyes, and continued to torture me as before during seven long years, when I again made my escape and was re-taken. After this third flight he cut off my hand, saying :—"I have now of your members only one eye and one hand at my service. Mark well my words ; if you run away again, I shall have both your legs cut off, and I shall still make use of your eye for watching, and of your hand for work ;" and enforcing these words with a horrible oath, he trampled upon me and tormented me worse than ever. I am resolved at last ; I shall deliver you of your bonds, and kill myself with my own hands, to find relief from my miseries. This is the reason why you have seen me come in and go out every moment. The thought of death frightened and troubled me, but now my resolution is fixed, and I have no other wish than to die."

Saying this, she opened the fetters, cut through the bonds of Ain-Ahlih, and drew forth a dagger to commit suicide, but the youth interrupted her, saying :—"If I allow you to kill yourself, I am the accomplice of your misdeed ;" and, snatching the poniard from her hand, he continued :—"Come with me, we shall either escape or perish together." "But how can I follow you running, aged and weak as I am?" rejoined the woman. "It does not matter," continued Ain-Ahlih, "the night favours us, the place of security is near, and these two arms of mine are strong enough to carry you." "Ah," said the woman, "as this thought has occurred to you, I may tell you that as long as there is one breath of life in me, I need no one to carry me." Thus both fled together, and the night had not yet finished its course, when they reached a place of safety. Ain-Ahlih generously rewarded the old woman, adopted her as his mother, and obeyed her blindly as long as she lived. This is all I know of the beautiful story.

"This is an admirable tale," exclaimed the metropolitan. "Indeed, my most learned friar, I would never separate from you, and wish this undertaking of ours to be prolonged for a longer time, to enjoy your company. To be
End of the adventure
of Shapur II.
near you, I am well nigh inclined to abandon my country and relatives."

They rose to go to bed. Meanwhile Shapur interpreted the narrative, and understood the gabelle to allude to himself,

the antelope to the vizier, the going to the desert, and the falling of the gazelle into the pit, to the journey undertaken by himself with the vizier; till he was imprisoned by the Qayser, and lastly, the aversion of the gazelle towards the antelope, to the suspicions concerning the vizier, seeing the latter's delay in liberating him. He conjectured also that the vizier had already made preparations to liberate him and to convey him during the night to his capital, which was near, and to carry him on his shoulders in case he should be unable to walk. Thus he considered his escape to be certain.

In fact, the next evening the vizier introduced himself stealthily into the hut which served as a kitchen, and threw a powerful opiate into the food that was being cooked for the metropolitan and for the whole guard of Shapur. When the dinner for the metropolitan was served, the vizier was present, and partook, as usual, of his own provisions only. An hour had scarcely elapsed when all the people, not even the sentries excepted, were fast asleep. Without delaying a moment the vizier opened the door of the false bull, led out his master and delivered him from the chain on his neck and hands. Then they both hastened, as fast as possible, out of the Roman camp.

They directed their steps towards the city and reached the wall. At the challenge of the sentries the vizier advanced alone, ordered them to be quiet, made himself known, and informed them that the king was henceforth safe. They were admitted into the city, and all the people took courage. Shapur instantly assembled all the combatants, distributed arms, and ordered them to advance at the first signal towards the Roman camp, in battle-array, and to attack it at the second with one accord. After having given the necessary instructions, Shapur placed himself at the head of a squadron of the most powerful cavaliers, the bravest of the Persian army, and marched straight towards the pavilion of the Qayser.

When the second signal was given, the Persians began to march from every direction, and Shapur hastened to the tent of the sovereign of his foes. The Romans were in negligent positions, scattered about, and not in lines, because they knew that the besieged were disheartened, and supposed they would not dare to leave the gates of the city, still less to attack them; they found themselves, however, surrounded by the Persians before they were aware of it. The Qayser was taken prisoner by Shapur, the camp was sacked, the treasure taken, and only those saved their lives who were able to escape.

Shapur returned victoriously to his royal seat, distributed the

booty among the soldiers, and largesses to the citizens according to their various ranks, and entrusted the administration of public affairs to the vizier who had liberated him. Then he caused the Qayser to be brought forth, received him with politeness, and addressed him as follows:—"I shall spare your life, as you have spared mine, and shall not subject you to a confinement similar to that which you made me undergo. I shall require you only to make good the damage you have done in my realms, to rebuild the edifices you have demolished, to plant an olive tree from your own country for every palm-tree you have felled in mine, and to liberate all the Persian prisoners held captive in the Roman Empire." The Qayser accepted all these conditions and carried them out. When the damaged walls of Gandi-Shapur were to be restored, the Persian sovereign intimated that he desired them to be repaired with Roman cement, which was accordingly done after the Qayser had issued the necessary orders to bring it from his own country. This being done, Shapur dismissed the Qayser with demonstrations of honour from his captivity, but took leave of him with the words—"Arm yourself, and prepare for war, because I shall soon attack you."

The above account of the captivity, and deliverance of Shapur II., who reigned from A. D. 309 till 379, agrees very well with

Historical note on
Shapur II.

such Persian sources as Mirkhond, the *Shahnamah*, and the *Majmel-al-towarikh*, which, however, only briefly alludes to the two episodes of that king's reign just mentioned; but Eutychius, the patriarch of Alexandria, who desired to homologize this account with Roman history, although he does not commit the error of causing Galerius-Valerianus to become in his turn the prisoner of Shapur, makes him live during the youth of that sovereign, whereas he had died several years before the birth of Shapur. Roman history, which we possess for those times in a most authentic form, presents us with quite a different aspect of the wars of Shapur II. with the empire. One century before him, Ardeshir, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, had renewed the ancient struggles of the Parthians with the Romans. Shapur I., the successor of Ardeshir, had then occupied Armenia, had passed through Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia and Cappadocia; he had, among his other victories over the Romans, also disarmed their army at Edessa (A. D. 260) which was commanded by the Emperor Valerianus himself. It is well known that Valerianus died a prisoner, and it is stated that his conqueror humbled him to such a degree as to use his back for a foot-stool on mounting a horse, and, when the emperor died, his body was stuffed with straw and hung up as a trophy. But during the reign of Diocletian, who had

given his daughter Valeria in marriage to Galerius-Valerianus and had invested him with the imperial purple in the east, the latter avenged the shame of the Romans upon Nersi, the grandfather of Shapur II., by defeating him, capturing his whole family and dictating to Persia the conditions of peace, according to which Mesopotamia, west of the Khabur, five provinces east of the Tigris, Armenia, and Iberia were subjected to the empire. This happened in A. D. 297, and Persia remained quiet for forty years under this ignoble peace, but Shapur broke it A. D. 338, not at the age of 17 years as the Persian historians affirm, but in the full vigour of manhood. Meanwhile the Roman empire had changed its seat and religion, whilst the troubles of the civil wars which appeared unavoidable after the death of Constantine, presented Shapur II. with the opportunity of re-conquering the territories lost by his grandfather. In his wars against the Arabs and Northern Barbarians, Shapur II. had already acquired great experience in war, and had recovered and augmented the military power of his dominions. He accordingly tried his fortunes against the Romans during many years and gained first the battle of Sangara (Sinjâr) in Mesopotamia, in which the Emperor Constantine commanded in person, but the son of Shapur was captured and slain during the retreat in 346. The attacks of the Hephthalites (Huns) then forced Shapur II. to suspend the Roman war. He, however, resumed it in 360, when he exposed himself to the whole strength of the Roman forces, commanded by Julian. Julian, with sixty-five thousand well-trained men, crossed the Khabur, which was the Persian frontier, whilst he sent another army of thirty thousand men through Upper Mesopotamia to join the forces of Armenia, in order to march down straight upon Gesiphon, the capital of Persia, which he himself likewise intended to attack. The religious scruples, however, and the jealousy of the king of Armenia, impeded the execution of this, the most important feature of the plan. Julian with the largest portion of the army arrived victoriously on the banks of the Tigris, which he crossed opposite to the army of Shapur; instead, however, of at once beginning the siege of Gesiphon, he followed the imprudent course of burning his own fleet of boats on the Tigris, audaciously proposing to himself to advance into the heart of Persia. Thus it happened that, after leading his army from victory to victory, Julian at last brought on its destruction, because the Persians burnt and devastated their own country, just as the Russians did at the approach of Napoleon, wherever the Romans marched, so that before Julian could reach any of the capital cities, such as Ecbatana, or Susa, want of

provisions forced him to retreat through desolate regions and surrounded by Persian troops, whose numbers steadily increased. Shapur conquered by temporizing. Julian died of a wound during his retreat, and Jovian, having been proclaimed emperor in the camp, was compelled to sign a disgraceful treaty, by which he restored to Shapur the five provinces on the other side of the Tigris, and the strongest forts of Mesopotamia, and abandoned Armenia to the ambition of the king of Persia, who subjugated it shortly afterwards. In this manner the campaign ended in the month of July A. D. 363. Thus it appears that the Persian chroniclers have attributed the imprisonment of Valerianus to Shapur II., although it took place a century earlier, under Shapur I.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. IX.—CHRISTIAN EFFORT IN INDIA.

- 1.—*The Life of John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S.* By George Smith, LL.D. C.I.E., with Portrait and Illustrations. (John Murray, London.)
- 2.—*The Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D.* By George Smith, LL.D., C.I.E., with Portraits and Illustrations. Two Vols. (Hodder and Stoughton, London.)

TOWARDS the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, Portugal was a leading power in Europe and the world. The Portuguese had contested the supremacy of the Indian seas with the Dutch, and shown the way to India round the Cape, thus changing the commercial route of Europe, bankrupting the Venetians and Genoese, and destroying for the time being much of the commerce of the Mediterranean. They discovered and colonized Brazil, made themselves masters of Madeira, the Azores, Cape de Verde, and were to be found in Guinea, Senegambia, Mozambique, the Indian Archipelago and China. Lisbon, their European capital, was the greatest commercial emporium perhaps in the world, and Goa, "Golden Goa," the city of their own founding in Western Hindustan, in the splendour and magnificence of its streets, public buildings and religious and charitable institutions and hospitals, rivalled, if it did not surpass, Lisbon itself; while the inhabitants, in all the pomp and circumstance of stately, luxurious living and eastern magnificence, were probably unmatched even in the East.

It was at Goa that the first municipality was established in India by Albuquerque, and the same great statesman and general, while granting to Hindus the full enjoyment of the customs and usages of their religion, resolutely put down *Sati*. In these and other respects, such as the Muhammadan custom of farming the taxes and the protection of merchants and traders, and the punishment of oppression, Albuquerque outlined a policy in the Portuguese settlement of Goa which the English rulers of India have more or less filled in and developed.

On a May day of the year 1542, after a voyage from Lisbon of nearly a year's duration, there landed at Goa the earliest and, in some respects, the greatest Christian hero, philanthropist and missionary that has ever laboured in India or the East. In ten years the work of his life was completed. St. Francis Xavier died in the island of Sancian, near Macao, in 1552, while attempting to enter China, and his body was carried back to Goa, where it rests. St. Xavier,

on his arrival in Goa, turned his attention first to the European settlers, and, having stirred up in them a spirit of penitence for the depraved lives many of them were leading, and a religious fervour and enthusiasm which his very presence and voice seemed to produce, he then turned to the native population ; and the burning zeal and fervent spirit of St. Xavier, the colleague of Loyola, in the founding of the Society of Jesus, whose members may now be found in every part of the world, had such effect on the pearl-fishing population of the coast from Manaar to Cape Comorin, on the native population of the kingdom of Travancore, Malacca, the Banda islands, the Moluccas, Ceylon and Japan as to stand unrivalled in the records of Christian proselytising enterprise. As a Christian Missionary, St. Xavier's success was, to say the least of it, marvellous. No doubt much of his work was a mere passing wave of excitement which disappeared almost as soon as it was produced ; but the example and presence of this first of missionaries, his own high enthusiasm, his purity of life, his devotion and his faith, sowed the seeds of a new endeavour which are now, after three hundred years of little more than silent growth, beginning to influence the people of the East.

From Francis Xavier to Wilson of Bombay and Duff of Calcutta is a long way ; it includes an interval of over three hundred years ; it includes the invention of printing ; the revival of learning ; the Reformation ; the growth of commerce, literature and civilization ; the supremacy of the English in India, and the gigantic strides of Physical Science ; it includes the shattering of Protestantism into innumerable schisms and sects, the natural result of the right claimed and exercised of private judgment. In St. Xavier's day, Christianity could present an undivided front to Heathenism, and its advocates spoke to men with an authority which, since those days, because of dissent and nonconforming and the multiplying of isms and sects is no longer possible. Even John Wilson of Bombay, with all his simplicity and mildness of character and his undoubted earnestness for the christianizing of the natives of India, records in the journal of his visit to Goa in January 1834 (Smith's life of Wilson, P. 169)—“I could not but think of their devotedness (the martyr missionaries of the Augustinian order whose portraits adorn the walls of the convent at Goa) and wish that more of it were exhibited among Protestants,” and then at page 171 we read, :—“I discoursed.....for a considerable time and gave a copy of Mr. Candy's ‘Tracts’ and my ‘Exposure.’ The Hindus of Goa have been well supplied with books during our visit and many of them have heard the Gospel in its simplicity. We guarded them against being misled by

Romish ceremonies. Many of them told us that they well knew that the Goakars do not walk according to the Christian Shastre." This is quite of a piece with Duff's record in his journal, of the ceremonies of the Greek Church as they presented themselves to him in St. Petersburg. Duff declares that he has seen nothing in the most degraded and idolatrous countries of the East to equal the idolatry and degradation of the Greek Church; the heartless irreverence of its priests, and the superstition of the people. The truth seems to be, that neither Wilson with all his scholarship and philanthropy, nor Duff with his impulsive earnestness and fervent zeal, could ever see beyond the rim of his own theology. It was quite unknown to Duff, and seems to be equally quite unknown to the great majority of British and American Christians, that the Greek Church has accomplished a Missionary enterprise in Siberia and Northern Asia, which may fairly rank in importance with any achievement of Christian endeavour in ancient or modern times; and that some of the very finest hymns that are now to be found in the hymnals of Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Dissenters of all sorts, are translations from the Liturgies of the Eastern Church. Brahminism may be distinguished by "exaggeration, confusion, contradiction, puerility and immorality" as Dr. Wilson in his first "Exposure of the Hindu Religion" says it is—Mahomedanism and Buddhism have each been characterized as snares and delusions, and as unspeakably false and corrupt. Language equally strong and much more copious has been, and is sometimes, employed by certain writers and speakers to characterise the Christian church before the Reformation; and Protestant controversial writers even yet speak of the Church of Rome as the Mother of all abominations, the scarlet woman, and the "whore of Babylon." Duff speaks of the Church of Rome to Father Strickland of the Negapatam Mission as "the mother of Harlots—drunk with the blood of Saints, destined ultimately to be utterly annihilated." (Duff's Life, Vol. II., p. 143.) Dissenters are yet eloquent over the moribund rottenness of Episcopacy, and State aided churches of all sorts; the bench of bishops and the established clergy are a "band of dead dogs, not dividing the word of life aright," and it is only in their own little "Bethel" that purity and simplicity and adequacy of doctrine, ritual and government, are to be found. If within the sphere of Christian sects and *isms* there is such diversity of belief, such a formulating of antagonistic doctrines and practices as is compassed in the round from *Jumpers* and *Sandimanians* to the full ritual and dogma implied in a Romish Cathedral service, not to enumerate the frequent *hunting* of Scottish Presbyterian divines, nor to take any account of *Comtism*, Mormonism and the latest phase of

Spiritualism, and other religious cults which lie mainly outside the bounds of distinctive Christian thought, and yet have been accepted as verities by men reared in Christian lands under the shadow of Christianity in some of its forms, then Christians themselves may well wonder—and the Heathen they preach to and proselytise may well be lost in astonishment and greater wonder,—what indeed, after all, are the essentials of Christianity?

Nor is this all. Even during the last fifty years, since the July morning of 1830; when Duff opened his school for Hindu boys in the old meeting place of the Brahmo Sabha in the Chitpore Road of Calcutta, and Wilson in Bombay began his work, the position of the Christian theologian has not been strengthened. The study of historical science, the growth of Rationalism, and the great advance in physical science, have made it imperative that the theologian should considerably curtail his pretensions, and that the Bible and Christianity should take their place among the other faiths of the world, a purer faith no doubt, as understood by Western minds; but, so far as age and numbers are concerned, a younger faith, and a faith, that dominates but a fraction of humanity—a faith which, if it is not to sink to the rank of a philosophy, must, like all other religions, contain mysteries, and statements and problems insoluble by human reason, and apprehended only by faith. It appears to us that the time is fast approaching in the history of Christian enterprise in India and the world when the question "What are the essentials of Christianity" will require to be faced and answered. If Christianity has any meaning at all, it clearly implies a Christ-like life, a human life, lived out to the bitter end, it may be, in a more or less near approximation to the human life of its great founder. There have been imported into Christianity, an amount of dogmatic assertion regarding the unknowable; rash and utterly unprofitable speculation and fanciful and hair-splitting distinctions on subjects about which, however much may be believed, little can be known; petty squabbles on ritual, Church government, Headship and State aid, which have resulted in a long series of theological wrangling, schism, rupture and dissent, that are a standing reproach to Christianity and a deep disgrace to its professors. If the evil lives of Europeans in India and other non-Christian countries have, as we are frequently reminded, considerably retarded the spread of Christianity, the bickerings, and jealousies and rivalries of sectarian partisans who go amongst non-Christian peoples professing to teach universal brotherhood, a world-wide charity and a profound unselfishness, have resulted in mischief much more deeply rooted—have resulted amongst higher

castes of educated Hindus in a total rejection of Christianity—exceptions there are, no doubt; and in an attempt to purify and elevate the religion of their race from the centuries of accumulated myth and error that have slowly gathered round the germinating ideas that give vitality and permanence to their religion. The Brahmo Sabha of the great Hindu reformer, Ram Mohun Roy, and its lineal descendant, the Brahmo Samoj, are indications that, if Hinduism ever ceases to be the religion of the educated higher class natives of India, it will not be immediately succeeded by any form of Christianity as at present existing. Whatever opinions may be held regarding those claims to divine commission recently put forth by Keshub Chunder Sen, and however much the movement of which the Brahmo Samaj is the outcome, may be stigmatized as “vague, ethical rationalism,” no one who has an intelligent understanding of the movement will set its leader down as a hand-box of vanity, a vulgar quack, a sanctimonious impostor, and the movement itself as a delusion and a snare. Self-deceived and foolish, Brahmoism may be; but its self-deception and its foolishness have in them some of those startling qualities which, among early Christians, made the foolishness of preaching overcome the wisdom of the world. The power of Brahmoism as a factor in the religious life of Bengal is not to be despised, and its hold on the higher aspirations of Young Bengal, and we may say of India, is of a kind that Christian workers in India would do well not to undervalue or underrate.

The ideas and aspirations and life of that solitary thinker who wandered by the banks of the Lilijan and sat down, 2,500 years ago, exposed to summer's heat and winter's cold and rain, to think out for himself the mystery of pain, disease and death, duty, the universe, and God, even now rule the lives of more than a third of all mankind. Buddhism, darkened and overlaid as it is with error and myth, has in it a vitality and a reality inferior only to those of Christianity itself. Neither Buddhism, Hinduism nor Mahomedanism,—religions which have more or less completely satisfied the spiritual needs and aspirations of millions of human beings of all ranks and ages, and which have accumulated round them the wildest extravagance of imagination and the grossest error and yet retain their hold on such a large proportion of humanity,—can be expected to fall asunder and evaporate, at the touch of the Ithuriel spear of Christianity—least of all of a Christianity split up into numerous antagonistic sects. These religions are part of the race characteristics of the peoples who possess them; they are worked into the very tissue of their lives, and interwoven with their traditions and their history, and all that a people

hold dear ; and, until events arise that shall materially alter the conditions of their existence, these historic faiths will retain their supremacy as living powers in the lives of their adherents. It is not wisdom, it is folly, to endeavour to shake the faith of a people in their historic and race-characteristic religion before they are prepared to accept or work out for themselves a suitable substitute, and in this respect the rule of the English in India has been on the whole consistent. Following in the wake of the wisest and greatest of all the Portuguese Viceroy, Albuquerque, the rulers of India, have affirmed, and again affirmed, that the people shall be left in the free exercise of their religion, and that there shall be no tampering with these rights and privileges so far as the Government is concerned.

It seems to us wise that this is so, that what is false and impure in them should be left slowly to fade before the light of knowledge and reason and the growth of purity, and that the accumulated myths and errors of ages that have saturated all these great non-Christian systems of faith, should be left to the slow, silent, ever-active influence that is sensibly making itself apparent in the efforts of some at least of the educated natives to purify and elevate the faith of their fathers. The ideas, potent now, as at their first promulgation, which have given these systems of belief an enduring vitality for centuries, it may be possible to exhibit as forming the essential principles of Christianity, the vivifying ideas of the whole structure of the Christian faith. If, on the other hand, Christians could be brought to realize that ritual and form of Church government, and the doubtful and dead theology and tradition of which the Christianity of to-day possesses so large a legacy, however convenient and interesting and historical they may be, are nevertheless but the work of men and the formulating of the ideas of the age that gave them birth—men and ages, with all their sanctity and scholarship, less able probably to deliver judgment on the points on which they dogmatized than the men of the nineteenth century—then it might be possible for good men and true, within and without the pale of Christianity, to have a common platform from which they might labour together for charity, purity and truth. Whether this be so, or not, the fact remains that many of these dogmas were utterly unknown to the early Christians, and were added to the Christian faith at intervals of hundreds of years from the age in which the founder of Christianity lived his pure, simple, unselfish, loving life, the friend and companion of the poor, the instructor of the ignorant, the feeder of the hungry, the clother of the naked, the nurser of the sick, with the green fields and roads and streets of Palestine for his teaching

ground, and the synagogue and hillside for his temple. A life such as this, seems to us, Christianity in its highest practical form ; Christianity as its great founder himself exhibited it ; a life and a faith sufficiently broad to enlist under its banner good men and true of every race and creed under the heavens ; and to bind together, as one family, all nations of the earth. Wherever men are leading a life such as this, and teaching men so to do, whether we call them Heathen, Buddhist, Hindu or Muhammadan, they are nearer the Kingdom of Heaven, than if, with but a feeble pretence or half-hearted effort after such a life, they should ring the whole changes on dogmatic theology, and prate of the eternal damnation of unbelievers, the everlasting decrees of God, His intentions from all eternity, the fore-ordination of the elect ; and squabble over candles and chasubles and the cut and colour of a priestly robe, or the form of church government in Apostolic times. It is this petty spirit of stickling and haggling over non-essentials, this tenacious adherence to dogmas evolved from the inner consciousness, and embodied in confessions of faith, and articles and catechisms, that has produced dissension, disunion and disgrace ; and that has alienated, and is alienating, thoughtful men all over the world.

Dr. Wilson came to Bombay in 1825, at the age of 24, a missionary of the church of Scotland, and died in 1875. His life was mainly spent in antiquarian and philological research, in the duties of his calling as a missionary, and in the advancement of every work of humanity. During his long residence in India, where society changes so rapidly, he became a power and authority in Bombay and took the lead in every social, civic, and philanthropic object. In his relationship with the natives of India, he was kind and conciliatory, and in the controversies which arose out of his advocacy of Christianity he was distinguished by mildness, fairness, tact and an even temper. For nearly fifty years he worked at the educational, moral, and religious improvement of the Indian people, using their own vernacular in schools, sermons, tracts, itinerant preaching and house visitation. He saw Bombay rise from a mere military station to the rank of one of the great cities of the world. In all the plans and schemes implied in this change, Dr. Wilson took an active part ; and in matters of great importance to the Empire he was frequently consulted by the Government. The life of such a man, spent as it was, in the manner we have indicated, and covering, as it did, so long, and to India so important an interval of time, thus forms, not only an important addition to Biography, but is at the same time a substantial contribution to the History of the Indian Empire.

Dr. George Smith's long residence in India, his position and his work as Principal of the Doveton College, Calcutta, in its palmiest days, as editor of this *Review* during part of 1856 and 1857, and again, in the same capacity, in conjunction with Sir Richard Temple, during 1859 and 1860, for many years editor of *The Friend of India*, and Calcutta Correspondent for *The Times*—gave him an almost unrivalled acquaintance with every topic of importance to India; and his lives of Drs. Wilson and Duff are not only valuable additions to Anglo-Indian biography and the ever-increasing record of noble Christian work, but at the same time they embody numerous and diversified details of nearly every great event and man of public note in India, as well as the policy of successive Governments during the last 50 years.

In the great task of educating the people of India, in successfully advocating the claims of India as a Mission Field, and in helping on every good work on behalf of the Indian people, Dr. Duff, as teacher, preacher and public man, occupies the foremost rank amongst those who have laboured for India's welfare during this century. Goethe has somewhere said, that two conditions are necessary to great men—they must be born at the right time, and they must die at the right time; or they may outlive their fame. Time and the man came together, when Alexander Duff, Missionary of the Church of Scotland, landed in Calcutta a youth of 24, in the May of 1830, five years after John Wilson reached Bombay. Duff's avowed endeavour was to break down the power of Brahmanism, and christianize the high caste Hindus. He did not break down Brahmanism, and the higher class Hindus are non-Christian to this day. What he did accomplish was, to leaven the minds of his pupils in the missionary schools and colleges with Christian doctrines, and Christian ethics: to educate them in the literature and the thought of England; and leave the leaven to work. That he could even accomplish this much, was due to the condition of affairs existing in India when he reached its shores. All attempts to christianise Brahmanical Hindus before Duff's day, and since his time, have been failures; and missionaries in the South, the East, the West and the North of India have been impelled to gather their converts from men of low caste, and men of no caste. Converts there have been from Coolin Brahmins in Duff's time, as well as after and before it; but it is a gross falsehood to assert that the power of the system of Brahmanism is shattered; it remains intact to this day, with probably as much vitality and power of endurance as it had three hundred years

ago, when St. Xavier, the great Apostle of the Indies, first saw the strand of India rise in the horizon. Duff's biographer admits this, and adds the "scholarly authority" of Mr. Burnell to the same effect. (See Duff's Life, Vol. I., p. 107). There is a popular fallacy abroad among evangelicals and others in Britain and America that the citadel of Brahmanism was stormed and overthrown by Duff and his colleagues, in conjunction with other missionary agencies in India. It is not so, the leaven is only working; and we incline to the belief that the result will be, not Free Churchism or Scottish Kirkism or Episcopacy, or, as we have said, any other form of Christianity as at present existing.

Two months after he landed in India, Duff began his life's work. Vernacular preaching and teaching had reached the lower classes only, and even these with but intermittent success. On the Southern shores of the Peninsula this was the case. Many of the converts seemed to die out or disappear, without leaving any visible successors. Kiernander's Calcutta converts had so disappeared. Henry Martyn's native Christians could not be found by the missionaries that came after him. Lacroix, the greatest vernacular preacher India ever had, the friend and contemporary of Duff, affirmed, that after fifty years' work he was not conscious of having made a single convert. Vernacular preaching and teaching had been powerless against Brahminism. Duff realised the failure, and prepared his attack on the brain and motive power of Hinduism. Hitherto, then as now, the Brahmins had been able to seize on every ascetic, moral or spiritual development that offered, in any way to assail their position; and, by raising it to a caste, absorbed it into Hinduism, thus changing a foe to an ally. Would Duff's method succeed? He believed it would, if not in his day, then surely in the fulness of time.

Before attempting any explication of Duff's method, it is necessary that the condition of affairs in India at the time of his coming should be understood, in order that one may realise the conditions and causes that worked together to produce the measure of success he attained.

Until the year 1822 converts and perverts of all kinds had been excluded from the public service. Lord W. Bentinck threw the service open to all-comers of every caste and creed. Warren Hastings, in the Code of 1772, had secured to Hindus and Muhammadans their own laws of heritable succession. This included the disinheritance of perverts and remained in force till Lord William Bentinck's day. Now, for the first time in the history of India, it was possible for a convert to retain his personal inheritance, and

although a change of religion implied degradation from caste, and social and family ban and curse, and isolation, his personal inheritance was left, and a career was possible in some branch of the service. Neither of these was attainable before 1822. Amongst the natives there had been gradually growing and increasing in strength an eagerness to obtain an English education, brought about no doubt by the fact that the contest between the Orientalists and the Anglicans had ended in the defeat of the former. At all events the minute of Macaulay, February 1835, laid the question for ever. English was henceforth to be the language of the official classes, and Sanscrit and Persian handed over to students, scholars, politicals and others. An English education now meant an entrance to lucrative employment; it was the key that unlocked the gate that blocked the entrance to comparative wealth, and to place and power. It did not imply this only, but to the sons of native gentlemen shut out from the position their family had in many cases occupied, in the government of native States, by the spread of English rule, it in some measure implied a resumption of their former state; and to that earnest band of truth-seekers working silently and alone, common enough in all countries and all ages, the language of England laid bare a new world of ripe thought and speculation, and exact observation, a literature and a history full of the highest thoughts and the noblest efforts. There were "seekers after God," like Ram Mohan Roy, who procured Duff his first pupils, and whose attack on idolatry and caste-prejudices raised the active opposition of his contemporaries; and the spirit of religious unrest that has helped to shatter Hinduism into multitudinous castes, was probably more apparent then than at the present day. These were some of the conditions and influences lying ready at the hand of the strong-willed, impetuous Celt, who dared to differ from his contemporaries and his predecessors, who set at defiance the express commands of the Kirk that sent him to India, and who preached the Gospel to the Heathen by teaching English in a school.

When John Knox saved from the rapacious maw of unscrupulous Scottish nobles some remnant of that Church property which, had they been permitted, they would have altogether appropriated, he took care that a school and a church should stand together in every parish in Scotland. From John Knox's day up at least to the regimen of School Boards, the school and the church were intimately connected. Here the Bible was the first easy reading book of every Scottish boy and girl, and lessons from its pages and the choicest of its Psalms and verses were daily repeated. As early in this century

as 1828, John Wood, in the Sessional schools of Edinburgh, had in active operation methods of working which were attracting the attention of every one interested in education in Scotland. About the same time David Stow, in the slums of Glasgow, was working out and perfecting what he afterwards gave to the world, *viz.* his training system—a system of moral and intellectual training, which in the hands of competent workers has produced the highest results and is likely to outlive more pretentious systems. The relationship of the Church to the school, as Knox established it, the reading and inculcation of Scripture, as practised in Scotland for the last three hundred years, and the kindred systems of Wood and Stow, Alexander Duff planted in Calcutta, and produced results which were the admiration of his visitors, and which disarmed objectors to his system. Five years of unceasing teaching, preaching, lecturing, and expounding; then, in broken health, home to Scotland in 1835. For the next five years broad Scotland rung, from end to end, with the clear full tones of Duff's voice, rousing to a pitch of unexampled enthusiasm the Christian public, North and South of the Tweed, on behalf of Christian Missions; then back to India in 1840; more organizing and the crowning of his educational edifice with a thoroughly equipped College staff; more schools and mission stations, native converts and native preachers; and so, with more or less energy and intermission, the work of his life went on till, at the age of 57, he left the shores of India for the last time, bequeathing to India, in the organizations he left behind him and in his life as teacher, preacher and public man, a legacy of usefulness and the highest good to its people.

As a teacher, Duff's success in India was unrivalled. The conditions which produced the eager desire for an English education, and which materially contributed to that success, have been shortly noticed. Duff's schools and colleges supplied that want, and they were filled to overflowing. But in our estimation there can be no continuous working on the lines laid down by Duff, unless the missionary agencies are prepared to supply education at a cheaper rate and of as sound a quality as that provided in the Government schools. Hitherto, missionary schools and colleges have been as fairly successful as those under Government control, if the results of the University examinations may be accepted as a test of success; and if the various missionary schools and colleges can still go on competing with each other and with Government establishments, and are able to offer a thorough education at a still cheaper rate, and are prepared to carry on their work with a yearly increasing balance on the wrong side of the ledger, to be defrayed by increased contributions from missionary funds, then,

no doubt, the pupils and students of their schools and colleges may show no diminution. But that they will be able to show students from as high a rank in native society as those who attend the Government colleges, where there is no tampering with religious beliefs—no one will be prepared to admit. As it is, the bulk of the higher class Hindus are students of Government colleges, and we venture to assert that there were more higher class Hindus in Duff's first school 50 years ago than there are at the present moment in all the missionary colleges in Calcutta combined.

The second condition necessary to produce a great man, according to Goethe, is that he should die at the right time. Duff outlived his fame, except with that circle of Evangelicalism of which he was so distinguished an ornament and advocate. As a great preacher, possessing the true power of the orator to move English-speaking assemblies, he, in his day, had few, if any, equals. As a missionary to the Hindus, to christianize the Brahmins, his success was probably neither better nor worse than that of the missionaries who had preceded and have succeeded him, if we bear in mind the conditions in existence at the time of his coming to India. That he utterly failed to grasp any of the vivifying ideas of the system of faith which he attacked, and to turn them to any effectual purpose in his crusade against Brahminical Hinduism, is not anywhere apparent in his work. Both Wilson and Duff had the greatest contempt for every form of faith but that which they themselves professed: those who differed from them were not only mistaken, they were wicked. They thus put themselves entirely out of sympathy, not only with the people whose faith they laboured to destroy, but with a large body of earnest self-devoted workers in the same field.

How this legacy of English thought and Western ideas may work on the people of India, their faiths and their institutions, lies yet in the future.

There are now two thousand years since the song of the angels fell on the ear of the Bethlehem shepherds, "Peace on earth, good will to men," and since the cry of the Baptist, and the Carpenter of Nazareth, "Repent for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand,"—startled into newness of life the dwellers on the shores of the Levant. Nevertheless there is no Christian city without its slums of poverty, devilry and disease, over which float in mid air the sounds of Church-going bells. How far from being realised is the "peace and good will" announced so long ago, is evidenced in the disgraceful ruptures, bickerings and vituperation of sects calling themselves Christians, and in the clang of arms and the tramp of armed men trained to "horrid war" in every

Christian land. That these halcyon days of "peace and good will" *will* come, is the hope of all earnest men and the dream of the poet—when men to men, the world over, will be clasped together in a common brotherhood.

"Lo? the days are hastening on,
"By prophet bards foretold,
"When with the ever circling years
"Comes round the age of gold;
"When peace shall over all the world
"Her ancient splendours fling,
"And the whole world send back the cry,
"Which now the Angel's sing."

THOMAS EDWARDS.

THE QUARTER.

OWING mainly to the winter snows which had closed the roads and passes, the last three months have been marked, as far as active military operations are concerned, by a pause in the war in Afghanistan. Our troops have been engaged in no hostilities of importance, either offensive or defensive ; but in the meantime they have not been idle. At Kabul great efforts have been made to strengthen our position by the demolition of cover and the construction of roads and defensive works, while General Roberts has been strongly reinforced by a brigade from the Khaibar line, the posts vacated to render this movement possible having been regarrisoned from the reserve at Peshawar. The result of these movements is that there is at the present moment a force of about twelve thousand men of all arms at Kabul, so disposed and provided as to be ready for any emergency.

In Southern Afghanistan still more important movements have taken place—a Division from the Bombay Presidency having been successfully moved up, via Karachi, to Kandahar and the Peshin Valley, to relieve the Bengal troops that have hitherto held these positions. The object with which this relief has been effected is two-fold, the utilisation of the division relieved, in clearing the country between Khelat-i-Ghilzai and Kabul of the enemy, who at present hold undisputed possession of it, and their final return to India, via Ghazni and probably the Kuram Valley. The following are the arrangements for the march of the force:—

General Barter's brigade, consisting of four guns 11 Mountain battery ; 1st P. C. ; 60th Rifles ; 15th Sikhs ; 25th P. N. I., and a Company of Sappers, move to the Arghasan Valley, ten miles east of Khelat. The head-quarters and main body, consisting of A.-B. R. H. A., G.-4 ; 6-11th and 2nd Punjab Cavalry ; 19th Lancers ; 59th Regiment ; 3rd Gurkhas ; 2nd Sikhs ; 19th P. L. I. and a Company of Sappers and Ordnance Park, march in two brigades up the Turnak Valley to Khelat, Barter's brigade being within heliographing distance. The two columns then move up the right and left banks of the Turnak, in parallel lines, up to Ghazni, where they unite. Barter's brigade will move from Sadu Khan's village by the western skirt of the Surkoh range. The heavy battery consists of two 25-prs., two 6 and 3-inch howitzers.

General Barter's brigade was to commence its march on

Monday, the 29th ultimo, one brigade of the main body on the following day, and General Hughes' brigade on Wednesday, the 31st ult.

Majors Clifford and Euan Smith were to accompany the force as political officers, the former being attached to General Barter's, and the latter to General Hughes' brigade.

A series of important and very successful reconnaissances have also been made in the Lughman Valley, where the people appear to have generally shown a friendly disposition.

On the side of the enemy there has been a good deal of threatening, but little more. The movements of Muhammad Jan, since his withdrawal to Ghazni, have been involved in obscurity. At first he seems to have succeeded in keeping a considerable force together, and it was at one time believed that he was organizing a formidable attack on Kabul, to be made, in conjunction with the Kohistanis, on the Nauroz. Not only, however, has no attack been made, but various circumstances seem to indicate that the power of Muhammad Jan is rapidly declining, and that he no longer commands any considerable following. He is reported to have had several serious engagements with the Hazarehs, in the last of which he was defeated; but the fighting appears to be still going on.

In the meantime General Roberts has taken advantage of the presence of the Mustafi, Habibulla, at Wardak, his native place, to open communications with Muhammad Jan and the local chiefs with a view of ascertaining whether there was any chance of a peaceable understanding being arrived at with them. This mission of the Mustafi's would appear to have been to a certain extent successful, many of the leading chiefs having expressed their willingness to come in to a conference at Maidan. Muhammad Jan himself is, indeed, reported to have declined these overtures, though, if it is true, as is stated, that Musa Khan, who is in his power, has declared his readiness to come in, it may be inferred that Muhammad Jan virtually accepts the situation, and, while indisposed to adopt a course which might be interpreted as formal submission, or perhaps distrustful of our intentions towards him, has made up his mind that it would be useless to continue the struggle. Soldier as he is, he could hardly, indeed, come to any other conclusion, seeing that before many weeks have elapsed, he will be hemmed in between General Stewart's force from Kandahar and the Kabul division. In Kohistan, though the people are distinctly unfriendly, such hostile gatherings as have taken place so far, have been of minor importance.

Of the movements or intentions of Abdul Rahman there appears to be as yet no absolutely trustworthy intelligence, though it

may probably be accepted as beyond doubt that he has crossed the border. According to the latest accounts he has advanced as far as Kunduz, and the entire military strength of the country, including the troops which were with Ghulam Haidar, has joined his standard, Gholam Haidar himself having been compelled to flee.

Should Abdul Rahman, as is not unlikely, be willing to come to terms, it would seem that the Government of India will have to choose between him and Musa Khan. A strong party appears at present to support the claims of the latter, but in all probability the appearance of Abdul Rahman on the scene, with Turkestan at his back, would place this party in a very decided minority. If, in short, the Government of India is prepared to give the country its choice between these two candidates, we have little doubt that the result will be, not the elevation of Musa Khan to the vacant masnad, but his restoration to the paternal arms at Masuri. It may possibly be, however; that the Government will consider Abdul Rahman's Russian antecedents a bar to his claim. In that case he will do wisely to stay where he is and content himself with pressing for a recognition of his authority in Turkestan.

The position is such that it would be altogether premature for the Government to disclose its policy, and it is not to be wondered at that the last Ministerial statement on the subject is marked by greater reticence than any of their previous utterances.

At Herat, Ayub Khan still maintains his power, but very little seems to be known either of his intentions or of the extent of his authority. There have been persistent rumours that the Home Government is prepared, on certain conditions, to acquiesce in the occupation of the Province by Persia, and that it has actually entered on negotiations with that Power on the subject. The ambiguous character of the reply given by Ministers to questions on the subject favours the belief that these rumours are not entirely without foundation. But, if so, there is as yet no sign that the negotiations have led to any definite result; and there is some reason to think that they have been broken off.

The collateral engagements which such an arrangement would necessitate are, however, of so important a character, that it will be easily understood that the Government would avoid pressing matters to a conclusion on the eve of a general election the result of which is so uncertain as that now about to be held. In the meantime the decision to occupy Farrah, if, as is alleged, it has really been arrived at, indicates a determination to be prepared for any eventualities in that direction.

The despatch of Mr. Lepel Griffin to Kabul, as chief Political Officer, was at first interpreted as symptomatic of an inclination on the part of the Government to a policy of compromise. While,

however, it may reasonably be regarded as indicating a desire to seize promptly any favourable opportunity for negotiation, the character of the arrangements that have just been made for the organization of the Political Department would rather seem to show that the Government contemplates the probability of prolonged occupation. Northern and Eastern Afghanistan have been portioned out into two political jurisdictions; the one, extending from Mohmund Rud to Latabund, under Col. Tweedie, and the other, from Latabund to Kabul, under Major Hastings, both being under the supreme control of Mr. Lepel Griffin.

This view of the case is, moreover, borne out by the declaration made by Mr. Griffin to the Kabul Sardars regarding the main lines of the Government scheme for the future administration of the country. He informed them that, the plan of a united Afghanistan having proved incompatible with the fulfilment of the treaty obligations, it had been decided henceforward to sub-divide the country, the provinces of Herat and Kandahar being detached from the jurisdiction of the ruler of Kabul. He further informed them that the re-instatement of Yakub Khan was impossible; that a British army would remain at Kabul till a ruler was appointed strong enough to carry out arrangements with the British Government and protect those who had befriended it, and that the measures to be taken for the future government of Herat and Kandahar would be decided on hereafter. Nothing, it will be observed, was said as to the future of Turkestan, and it was manifestly impossible to announce who the next Amir would be.

The general opinion appears to be that the Government desires to leave the chiefs of the country as free as possible to make their own selection, and there is little room for doubt that it would be better for it to annex the country outright than to attempt to force on it a puppet ruler of its own choosing, who would be *ipso facto* unacceptable to the people.

It is impossible, however, to ignore, and the Government is probably very far from ignoring, the chance that the Sardars will elect to go against us, rather than choose any ruler whomsoever under the conditions thus laid down. Already it is rumoured that Mr. Lepel Griffin's proclamation has been unfavourably received, the Sardars protesting that, deprived of Herat and Kandahar, the Amir will be no better than a Nawab, *i. e.*, than a feudatory of the British Government without any real power. The immediate outcome of the proclamation may not improbably be, that, while temporising with us, and secretly stirring up a guerilla warfare, the chiefs will make overtures to Abdul Rahman, and that, if he agrees to the position, there

will be a combined movement of the entire country against us under his leadership. That the Government anticipates some such eventuality is, we think, evident from the energetic military preparations that are being made.

On the evening of the 25th ultimo orders were issued for a re-disposition of the forces at Kabul, evidently designed to meet the exigencies of an early attack, while a strong force was simultaneously told off to hold itself in readiness for immediate offensive operations. At the same time arrangements were proceeding for the despatch of further reinforcements to the capital from Jellalabad.

The following troops now compose the Brigades of Divisions of the Kabul force:—

“First Division under General Roberts.—First Brigade; 92nd Regiment, 28th Panjabis, 45th Panjab Native Infantry, under General Macpherson. Second Brigade; 72nd Regiment, 5th Gurkhas, 3rd Sikhs, 5th Panjabis or a relieving regiment under General Baker. Second Division under Major General Ross.—First Brigade; 67th Regiment, 2nd Gurkhas, 27th Panjabis, under Brigadier General Roberts. Second Brigade; 9th Native Infantry, 4th Gurkhas, 24th Panjabis, under General Charles Gough. Cavalry Brigade under General H. Gough; 9th Lancers, 3rd Bengal Cavalry, 3rd Panjab Cavalry, 17th Bengal Cavalry.”

Besides these there are the Guide Corps and the 23rd Regiment which are not attached to any Brigade.

Any such general hostile movement as that which we are contemplating, would be likely to compel the Government to adopt a policy of annexation.

However onerous such a policy might at first prove, its net result would probably be, the substitution of a comparatively short and sharp conflict for a prolonged period of chronic trouble and embarrassment. The maintenance of an independent Amir, however friendly he might be, would leave the power of the country for hostility practically untouched, while the disposition for hostility, however long it might remain latent, would be sure to break out as fiercely as ever on the first favourable opportunity.

The dread of annexation entertained by a certain school of Indian politicians, and probably by the majority of people at home, is largely based on an erroneous notion that our rule would meet with undying resistance at the hands of the great mass of the population of the country. A notion seems to prevail that the people of Afghanistan generally are not only incapable of being reconciled to foreign rule, but that they are by nature averse to all orderly government whatever. That notion, we are convinced, is devoid of all reasonable foundation. The great mass of the

population of Afghanistan, as of every other country, would prefer peace to war if they could get it. Its apparent general turbulence is in reality the turbulence of the restless few ; of the class whose hand is against every man ; a class that exists potentially in every country and comes uppermost whenever, as in Afghanistan, the government is, for any length of time, too weak to preserve order. Not only are there whole sections of the population who are actually and by nature peaceably disposed, but the great bulk of the population would be found on the side of order whenever a Government, whether ours or any other, had established and proved itself able to preserve it.

That the Afghans proper would, without a prolonged struggle, submit to being deprived of the power which, as the ruling clan, they have so long enjoyed, of carrying things with a high hand, is not to be expected. The Ghilzais might probably be conciliated by judicious treatment. But there is another race, fully as brave and as sturdy as either, who would hail British rule with delight, and who, with the aid of arms, money and military instruction, would enable us to hold the country with a minimum of British troops. Sanction has, we see, just been given to the enlistment of men of this race in our regiments, a wise measure which might have been long since adopted with advantage, and, should annexation be forced upon us, one of our first measures should be to organise a strong Hazarah contingent.

We cannot refrain from quoting here part of what Dr. Bellew says of this people in his excellent little work on "The Races of Afghanistan."

"This people differ entirely from all the other races of Afghanistan, and occupy a very extensive area of country, extending from the borders of Kabul and Ghazni to those of Herat in one direction, and from the vicinity of Kandahar to that of Balkh in the other. They hold, in fact, all the country which formed the Paropamisus of the ancients, and in their possession of it are isolated from all the other peoples of Afghanistan, with whom they are in contact only where their borders march together. This region is mountainous throughout, and for the most part the soil is poor. But it contains many fertile and populous valleys, and is the source of several important rivers, the Arghandab and Helmand, the Harirud or Herat river, and the Murghab or river of Marv. It is formed by the two great western prolongations of the Hindu Kush, which are separated from each other by the valley of the Harirud; and is divided into Ghorjistan, or Sufed-band, on the north, and Ghor, or Sipah-band, on the south: whilst the point on the east, whence the two ranges start from the Hindu Kush, is the Ghor-band of Bamian.

"The interior of this country is entirely unknown to Europeans, but we know from history that in former times it was a highly populous region, and took the famous conqueror Changhiz Khan a full decade to subdue and devastate. In his time it abounded in strong fortified places held by a population mostly of Persian race.

"Regarding the ethnic affiliation of the Hazarah people there can be no doubt, their features and forms declaring them distinctly to be Tatar of the Mongol division. But little or nothing appears to be known for certain regarding their history and settlement in these parts, and they seem to have no traditions on the subject themselves. The name, too, by which they are now known affords no clue, as it is not a native one, but of foreign derivation. The general idea regarding the origin of the word Hazarah is, that it is derived from the Persian word *hazar*, "a thousand," and was applied to these people by their neighbours, in consequence of their having been planted here as military colonists in detachments of a thousand fighting men each by Changhiz Khan in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

"Amongst themselves this people never use the term Hazarah as their national appellation, and yet they have no name for their people as a nation. They are only known amongst themselves by the names of their several principal tribes and the clans subordinate to them respectively. . . . They acknowledge the Charaymac, Jamshedi, Firozkohi, Tymuni, and other Tatar tribes in the western parts of the country as kindred, but have no very intimate relations with them. With the exception of a few Turki words, they have entirely lost their mother-tongue and adopted in its place the Persian language of the thirteenth century, and with it the national form of religion of that people, namely, the Shíá doctrine of Islám. This is the case with the eastern tribes throughout, though some towards the north-west of the country are of the Sunni sect.

Very little is known of the manners and customs of this Tatar people. They are said, however, to be simple-minded people, and very much in the hands of their priests. They are for the most part entirely illiterate; are governed by tribal and clan chiefs, whose authority over their people is absolute; and they are generally very poor and hardy. Many thousands of them come down to the Punjab every cold season in search of labour either on the roads, or as well-sinkers, wall-builders, &c. In their own country they have the reputation of being a brave and hardy race, and amongst the Afghans they are considered a faithful, industrious, and intelligent people as servants. Many thousands of them find employment at Kabul and Ghazni and Kandahar during

the winter months as labourers—in the two former cities mainly in removing the snow from the house-tops and streets. In consequence of their being heretics, the Sunni Afghans hold them in slavery, and in most of the larger towns the servant-maids are purchased slaves of this people.

“As a race, the Hazarah are irreconcilably hostile to the Afghan, and they have always shown a good disposition towards us on the several occasions of our military operations in Afghanistan. The independent tribes in the interior, who have hitherto baffled the attempts of the Kabul Government to reduce them to subjection, are described as a very brave people, with many of the warlike characteristics of the Goorkha. In fact they may very properly be considered as the Goorkha of the west, for they are of the same race, and in physiognomy there is no difference between them, the Hazarah being of fairer complexion only. Of the numbers of this people nothing is known for certain, though they are roughly reckoned at one hundred and twenty thousand houses, exclusive of the Charaymac and western tribes. For us, in our new relations with Afghanistan, this people has a special and very important interest. With good management they may be entirely attached to us and our interests, and are capable of being converted into a very powerful advance-guard of our military position in the country.

The following, according to latest information, is the disposition of the Bombay Division, in South Afghanistan :—

“The troops stationed at Sibi will be furnished from Jacobabad.

“At Thull: 2 guns No. 2 Bombay Mountain Battery; 2nd Sind Horse 3 Troops; Head-quarters and 6 companies of 5th Bombay N. I.

“At Hariani: 2nd Sindh Horse 1 Troop; 2 companies 5th Bombay N. I.

“Nos. 3, 4, and 5 companies Bombay Sappers and Miners will be employed on the Railway line near Gwal, under the direction of the Chief Engineer.

“At Kushdil Khan-ka-Killa: Head-quarters 2nd Brigade Bombay Division; 16th Bombay Native Infantry, and 1 squadron consisting of 40 sabres of the Puna Horse.

“At Chaman: 3 companies of the 28th Bombay Native Infantry. All the above troops are placed directly under the orders of the Brigadier-General commanding the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Bombay Division.

At Quetta: 14-9 R. A. Garrison Battery, now *en route* from Bombay:—2 guns No. 2 Mountain Battery, Head-quarters and 1 squadron 2nd Sindh Horse, 4th Bombay Native Infantry.

The guards now maintained at the transport stages in the Bolan Pass are furnished by this latter regiment, and 2 companies detailed to Khelat are located temporarily at Mach, pending the arrival of the Assistant Agent Governor-General at Khelat. 4 companies of the 10th Bombay Native Infantry are temporarily employed in the protection of the Railway line above Harnai. The escort, when required, for the Agent Governor-General in Beluchistan, will be furnished from the Quetta garrison, to consist of 2 Mountain Guns, 1 troop of Cavalry, and 160 Rifles:—

“At Khelat: 2 companies of 4th Bombay N. I. These, however, are temporarily detained at Mach in the Bolan Pass.

“At Gulistan Karez: 1 company 28th Bombay N. I.

“At Killa Abdulla: 1 company 28th Bombay N. I.

“At Chaman: 2 guns No. 2 Mountain Battery, 1 native officer and 40 sabres 2nd Puna Horse; Head-quarters and 3 companies of 28th Bombay N. I.

“At Abdul Rahman: 1 native officer and 30 sabres of the 3rd Sindh Horse. The Cavalry at this post will hereafter be furnished by the 2nd Puna Horse on arrival; 1 native officer and 30 rifles 19th Bombay Native Infantry.

“At Mundi Hissar: 1 native officer and 30 sabres 3rd Sindh (to be similarly relieved by the Puna Horse.)

“The following troops of the Bombay Division are detailed for Kandahar:—

E-B Royal Horse Artillery.	1st Bombay Grenadiers. 1st
C-2 R. A. 4 guns.	Brigade.
5-8 R. A. Mountain Battery	19th Bombay N. I., 1st Brigade.
guns.	7th Fusiliers, 2nd Brigade.
5-11 R. A. Heavy Battery.	30th Bombay N. I., 2nd Bri-
66th Regiment, 1st Brigade.	gade.

“The 29th Bombay Cavalry.

“Head-quarters and 2nd squadron Puna Horse; 3rd Sindh Horse and No. 2 company Sappers and Miners.

“The garrison of Khelat-i-Ghilzai furnished by the Bombay Division will be—

C-2 R. A. Field Battery 2 guns.

5-8 R. A. Mountain Battery 2 guns.

66th Regiment 2 companies.

29th Bombay Native Infantry and 1 squadron 3rd Sindh Horse.”

Any record of the progress of affairs in Afghanistan during the past quarter would be incomplete without some reference to the unusual action of the Commander-in-Chief in removing General Massy from the command of the Cavalry Brigade, and recalling

him to India. The previous reputation of the disgraced officer, while it makes it almost inconceivable that His Excellency can have adopted such a course except on a most careful consideration of the whole of the evidence, also renders it inevitable that his action should be subjected to the severest scrutiny.

The disastrous result of the cavalry action of the 11th December in the Chardeh Valley was the immediate occasion of the enquiry that led to this decision. The charges against General Massy appear to be that, having been ordered to proceed with his guns and Cavalry by the Ghazni road for the purpose of joining General Macpherson at Argandeh, he disobeyed his instructions by striking across country. That he unnecessarily, and contrary to the rules of scientific warfare, engaged overwhelming numbers of the enemy with guns and cavalry unsupported by infantry; and that, in continually advancing his guns, and so losing their fire in the interval, and in dismounting thirty lancers with carbines to stop the advance of ten thousand men, he showed himself unable to cope with the difficulties of the situation in which he had thus entangled himself.

The arguments brought forward in defence of General Massy are that, by cutting across country instead of proceeding by the Ghazni road, he saved a distance of more than two miles, and was enabled to check the enemy so much further from Sherpur, if not to prevent them slipping through to Sherpur while he was traversing the circuitous route.

That he attacked the enemy only when it was impossible to avoid a collision without leaving them free to advance on Sherpur, and that by engaging them he not only warned General Macpherson of the true state of affairs, but actually delayed their advance for a time, and so rendered it possible to make arrangements to save Sherpur. That the tactics adopted by him were the only ones open to him, and that the charges which resulted so disastrously, and the advance of the guns to the position in which they had to be abandoned, were ordered by General Roberts himself, after his arrival on the scene of action.

It is not our intention to prejudge the case on manifestly imperfect evidence, but there is one important circumstance, which seems to be generally admitted, *viz.*, that the orders given to General Massy, and disobeyed by him, were given on the assumption that the facts, as regards both the number and the position of the enemy, were widely different from what they actually proved to be, and that General Massy's action in disobeying them was taken in view of the actual facts, or at all events of facts which enabled him to make a much more correct estimate of the actual facts.

The close of the quarter has been marked by a decided access of excitement among the tribes on the Khaibar line, where, on the 26th ultimo, a body of eight hundred Khugianis attacked Fort Battye, inflicting on the garrison a loss of seven killed, including Lieutenant Angelo, and nineteen wounded.

On our North Eastern Frontier the Fabian policy of Brigadier General Nation has been rewarded by the unconditional submission of the Khonoma Nagas, and the surrender of their guns. As a set off, however, against this somewhat inglorious success, we have to record a lamentable catastrophe in the neighbouring province of Cachar, where a body of the enemy swept down by night on the Baladhun tea-plantation, and, after murdering Mr. Blyth, the European manager, sacked and burnt the factory and made good their retreat unscathed.

In the domestic history of the Quarter the most noteworthy feature is the Financial Statement presented to the Council by Sir John Strachey on the 24th February, and embodying the most unexpected results. When the Budget of 1879-80 was framed, it was estimated that the year would close with a deficit of £1,395,000, and this unfavourable forecast had led to something like a panic in England, one of the consequences of which was the imposition on the Government of India of a starvation scale of public works expenditure accompanied by a wholesale reduction in the personnel of the department. Instead of this deficit the regular estimates show a surplus of £119,000, and this surplus is arrived at after providing an increased expenditure of no less than £2,886,000 on account of war and extraordinary public works connected therewith, and of £89,000 on famine account. Instead of £64,562,000, the revenue promised to yield £67,583,000; while the expenditure had exceeded the original estimate by only £1,507,000.

On the receipt side the most important variations from the estimate were an improvement in land revenue of £450,000, more than half of which was due to the collection of arrears of former years; an improvement in the net revenue from salt of £362,000; an improvement in the net revenue from opium of £1,900,000; an improvement of £114,000 in the revenue from stamps, and a deficiency of £93,000 in the receipts from assessed taxes.

On the expenditure side the most important variations were a saving in Exchange amounting to £1,010,000; of £389,000 in Interest on Debt; of £747,000 in construction, and £638,000 in working, of ordinary Public Works, with smaller savings in Telegraphs, and Stationery and Printing, a surplus of £265,000 in the place of a payment of £191,000, on account of Provincial

Services, and, *per contra*, an increase of military expenditure amounting to £2,768,000; of £168,000 for Superannuations and smaller increases under the heads of Post Office, Railways and Productive Public Works.

For 1880-81 the revenue is estimated at £66,746,000 and the ordinary expenditure, including excess military charges to the amount of £4,060,000, at £66,329,000, thus showing an expected surplus of £417,000. In arriving at this result the net revenue from Opium is taken at £1,150,000 less than in the past year; that from Salt at £194,000 more; that from Railways at £1,080,000 more; that from Telegraphs at £25,000 more; that from Customs at £56,000 less, and that from Assessed Taxes at £247,000 less, while on the expenditure side of the account, exchange, reckoned at 1s. 8d., is taken at £310,000 more; grant for productive Public Works at £388,000 less; Interest at £282,000 less; superannuations at £112,000 less, Irrigation and Navigation at £96,000 less, and Famine Relief at £94,000 less.

Two important fiscal changes are included in the financial arrangements of the year, *viz.* the abolition of the export duty on indigo and shellac and the exemption of incomes of less than Rs. 500 a year from the operation of the license-tax. The former measure is based on economic considerations, the validity of which is generally admitted. The latter is a measure of relief which was urgently demanded, not so much because the class relieved are unable to bear the tax, as because of their powerlessness to resist the oppression and extortion of which its assessment and collection are apt to be made the occasion.

It was originally the intention of the Government to couple the exemption of these incomes with another amendment of the Act, rendering official and professional incomes liable to the tax. But this proposal, which would have recouped £240,000 out of the £340,000 surrendered, has been abandoned.

The original object of the proposed extension had been two-fold; to compensate for the loss arising from the exemption of incomes under Rs. 500 and to advance a step in the equalization of taxation. The state of the finances, however, rendered it possible to dispense with the £340,000 surrendered without embarrassment, and the alleged equalisation would have been rather specious than real. Sir John Strachey himself admitted that it would have been too partial to warrant the extension of the tax. "If," he said, "it had now been possible to attempt the removal of the numerous inequalities and anomalies which are inseparable from any such partial system of taxation as that which now exists, this would have been an object of high importance; but

the mere extension of taxation to the official and professional classes would clearly be no complete solution of such a problem, although it might be a step towards it."

Though the Government is authorised by the Secretary of State to borrow £2,500,000 for productive public works, it has been determined to endeavour to meet all the demands for the year, inclusive of the public works expenditure, without recourse to a loan, the deficiency, amounting to Rs. 2,74,89,000, being taken from cash balances which, it is, estimated, will thus be reduced to 11½ crores of rupees at the end of the year.

If the above estimates are open to any obvious exception, it is that, looking at the experience of late years, the rate of exchange has been calculated at a dangerously high figure, and that an unduly sanguine view has been taken of the prospects of the railways. On the other hand, it may fairly be expected that the revenue from customs will be somewhat better than the estimate.

As was freely predicted at the time, the exemption of the lower grades of cotton goods from duty, granted last year, has resulted in a much heavier loss of revenue than was estimated by the Government, the actual sum being £230,000, as compared with the anticipated sum of £150,000; and for the current year it is estimated that the loss will be £20,000 more. This, however, has not been the most serious result of the ill-considered measure in question. When the partial exemption was under discussion, it was foreseen that it would operate to create a new class of shirtings, made of yarns slightly within the minimum dutiable standard, in the place of the large class of somewhat finer goods previously imported. The actual result has been completely in accordance with this expectation. "The immediate consequence," said Sir John Strachey, "of the exemption from duty of goods containing no yarn of a higher number than 30s., was the rapid development of the manufacture and import of a new class of goods made of 30s. and lower counts. In consequence of their superior cheapness these duty-free goods have rapidly become popular; and the experiment having thus proved successful, the tendency is now to make of the coarse yarns all cloth for which they can be used, and to substitute the coarser for the finer fabrics formerly made of yarns ranging from 30s. to 40s. This process has already reached such a point that last month the duty-free shirtings and long-cloths constituted more than 74 per cent. of those kinds of imported goods, and the dutiable qualities of some other classes of goods have almost disappeared from the market."

A premium has, in short, been placed on the manufacture of a certain class of goods, which amounts to a serious interference with the natural course of trade, while at the same time it is

extremely doubtful whether any real or lasting benefit to the home manufacturer has resulted. The ultimate choice appears to lie between a uniform duty on all classes of imported piece-goods and the entire abolition of the duty, and there can be little doubt that the latter course will sooner or later be forced on the Government, with the effect of inflicting on it a further loss of revenue to the extent of £615,000. With a view of recouping this, it is suggested by Mr. Hope that all import duties, with certain exceptions, might be abolished and a uniform registration fee of one per cent. imposed, either on all exports and imports, or on all imports.

Two important points of principle have been much discussed in connexion with the financial arrangements of the year, *viz.* whether the expenses of the Afghan war should be defrayed by India or England, and whether, the former alternative having been accepted, they should be defrayed out of revenue or by loan. As regards the first of these questions, it is argued on the one side that the war is an Imperial war, the necessity for which has arisen entirely out of the exigencies, or what the Government chose to regard as the exigencies, of Imperial policy. The threatening attitude adopted by England towards Russia in the spring of 1877, it is maintained, was the cause of those intrigues on the part of Russia in Afghanistan which ultimately led the Government to take up arms against the Amir. On the other hand, it is argued that the war was undertaken to guard against a prospective danger to India, and that, even if it be admitted that the danger arose out of the European relations of England, this circumstance is an accident of British rule in India, the consequences of which India must accept along with the benefits of that rule. Further, it is argued, the attitude adopted by England towards Russia in Europe was itself dictated by the necessity of protecting India; and England might as justly call upon India to contribute towards the cost of a war undertaken by her in Europe for this purpose, as India calls upon England to contribute towards the cost of a war undertaken by her in Asia for the same purpose, on the ground of its connection with her European relations.

These arguments appear to us quite unanswerable. Nor do we think it can be considered that the liability entails any hardship on India. For, though in rare cases her connexion with England may subject her to hostilities to which she would not otherwise have been exposed, there can be little doubt that, on the whole, her liability to attack from without is not only not increased, but largely diminished, by it.

The decision of the Government to defray the cost of the war entirely out of revenue, instead of partly by means of loan, strikes us as being far more open to criticism. It is, no doubt, a good

rule to discharge war expenses out of revenue where the amount is moderate and where the money is available for the purpose, or can be raised without undue pressure on the existing resources of the people. But, looking at all the circumstances of our financial position, we do not think it can be justly said that this is the case in the present instance. Sir John Strachey does, indeed, assert that the cost of the war is provided out of surplus revenue. But, though true to the letter, this assertion is very far from being true in the spirit. In part, at least, the cost of the war has been provided from money levied for the specific purpose of securing the country against famine, and no one can reasonably contend that it is a proper way of doing this to spend it in waging war in Afghanistan. Had there been no works of a protective character waiting to be carried out, it might indeed have been urged with a certain amount of force, that it was better to borrow for famine relief, if necessary, hereafter, than to borrow for war now. But it is notorious that, while this money is being spent on war, important and urgent works are being left unconstructed. So far, in short, the surplus is a purely fictitious one, created by curtailing outlay which had been accepted by the Government itself as indispensable for the safety of the country: and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, in adopting a course at once so tortuous and so improvident, the Government has been actuated by a desire to make the burthen of the war appear lighter than it really is.

Among the events of the quarter has been the retirement of Sir Richard Temple from the Governorship of Bombay, amid a blaze of popularity, such as it is rarely the fortune of an Anglo-Indian Governor to achieve. Possessed of boundless energy and resource, the circumstances of the hour presented him with unsurpassed opportunities for their exercise; and no generous man will grudge him the fame of his success because the path of duty happened to coincide with that of ambition.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

A Hand-book of Modern Greek. By Edgar Vincent, Coldstream Guards, and T. G. Dickson. With a preface by Professor J. C. Blackie. London: Macmillan and Co.

THIS handy and neatly got-up volume supplies a want which has long been felt, not only by tourists, but also by our representatives in Greece, Turkey in Europe and Asia, and even Egypt. It will be welcomed by Indian officials who are looking forward to posts in Cyprus or in Asia Minor on the reconstruction or dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. Civilians and others in India, who are making abortive attempts to keep up their knowledge of Ancient Greek, will find that Modern Greek will impart new light and a lasting life to a buried study.* For Modern Greek is not a mixture of Turkish, Italian and other elements of a *lingua franca*, which popular opinion or classical prejudice supposes it to be. It is the Aeolo-doric dialect of Ancient Greek and at the time of its worst degradation had not a tenth of the foreign element which, for instance, characterises Urdu. In the hands of modern writers it is being reconstructed, as a literary language, into the Attic of Xenophon, not without detriment to the piquancy and joyousness of the vernacular. Were our schools to abandon their caricature of a practically pre-historic pronunciation, they could at once draw from the living fountains of a modern language and gain a far deeper insight into ancient Greek, that incomparable vehicle of both culture and mental discipline, for which alone the stately, cold and poorer Latin is a substitute. Ancient and modern Greek, studied together, as Latin and Italian, or classical and modern Arabic, should be, would be acquired in less than half the time that is now devoted to the former alone; and it could not be forgotten, as classical lore now too often is, for it would engraft ancient thought and beauty on daily life and modern aspirations. Nor is the political advantage of the suggested combination undeserving of attention. Too long has British prestige in the Levant suffered from the linguistic shortcomings of our agents. To know Greek is to have the key to the sympathy of the most pushing race in the Levant, who, whatever may be their actual descent ethnologically, are in language,

spirit and aspirations, the true descendants of the ancient Greeks, and whose surpassing patriotism, desire for education and love for their ancient literature may be directed in the best interests of civilization, of which England is still the principal exponent.

The veteran Professor, J. C. Blackie, of Edinburgh, stands God-father to a production whose practical utility can scarcely be overrated. It must be a great satisfaction to this undismayed advocate of the modern Greek pronunciation of ancient Greek to find that the work of Messrs. Vincent and Dickson enables even "practical Britons" to support his views. The writer of this notice, after a long sojourn in the Levant, endeavoured in vain to introduce the study of modern Greek at King's College, London, between 1858 and 1864, for, although the authorities of that Institution, with singular liberality of views, considering the ossified condition of classical opinion on the subject, allowed the subject to be taught, yet only one student was attracted to it. Now, however, the time has arrived when either that or some other Institution will establish a school of interpreters for the East, somewhat on the model of the *Ecole des langues orientales vivantes* at Paris, which may enable our consular, diplomatic and judicial representatives in the Levant to contend on more equal terms with their French, Russian, German and even Italian colleagues.

We have been led into the above apparent digression because we consider that the little book before us answers the requirements of temporary as well as permanent English residents in the Levant. Every grammatical rule is accompanied by sentences which are to the point, which convey information, and which avoid the tedious reiteration of that most delusive of all systems—Ollendorff. Sometimes, indeed, the sentences are too long and too difficult at the beginning of the work. Again, we consider that the English translations should occasionally be more literal, for the object of the work is not to teach English idiom, but good modern Greek, for instance: *πολὺ καλὰ κάμνετε* is not "a capital plan," but "you are doing very well." It would also be an additional facility, as well as a pleasure, to the student to be shown old acquaintances, as "practice," "catalogue," "glossary," "technical," "ephemeral," "chart," in their modern Greek form, or present application. Any ordinarily educated Englishman knows hundreds of modern Greek words which would "come in useful" if he only knew what they exactly meant, and how to pronounce them. We would therefore suggest that in the next edition of the *Hand-book* a list of the more important of these words be added, or that the English form be placed underneath the Greek word when it first occurs.

The authors of this Hand-book have shown themselves to be men of great common sense and of considerable thoughtfulness in the dialogues and letters which they have added to the work. These are full of exactly the sort of information that one requires in "travelling by a steamer," "arriving at an hotel," "asking one's way about Athens," "travelling in the interior," writing or presenting a letter of introduction, complaining to officials, remarks whilst out shooting, &c., &c. The very prices asked "at a book-seller's," "stationer's," "in a café," are correct.

To us the third part has been the most interesting. It contains passages from Greek authors from B. C. 850 to A. D. 1821, given with the view of showing that the language has been one and the same all that time. This view certainly is not proved by the juxtaposition of an extract of Homer's *Odyssey* and the modern Greek rendering of D. Vikelas. No two languages could, at first sight, be more different, for although the roots in both are Greek, yet they are used differently. It is like comparing Anglo-Saxon with the Somersetshire dialect of English. Again, the Ionic of Herodotus is compared with its version in the Aeolo-doric Modern Greek striving to become Attic in the able hands of Gennadios. Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Gennadios stand closer, and so do the corresponding versions in ancient and modern Greek respectively of Plutarch's Themistocles. A *Nubian inscription* A. D. 300, by a King Silco, affords striking evidence that the pronunciation of Greek at that period was the same as now. We then follow in review Theophanes and Malalas A. D. 750, who introduced a host of ancient words with new meanings; Anna Comnena, A. D. 1100; "Belthandros and Chrysantza A. D. 1370, which shows the influence of the crusades in Greek literature; 'a fragment,' probably written soon after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, A. D. 1453," an extract from the *Rhetoric* of Scuphos, A. D. 1681; and a stirring Klephtic Ballad. "By whom it is deemed to be an honor to do it (robbing) well" says Thucydides of those to whom it still applies, though, as the writer can testify, the dangers of travelling in Greece are altogether overrated, whilst it is simply untrue that the hotel-keepers *et hoc genus omne* are more grasping than their *confrères* all over Europe. This by the way, but we cannot refrain from quoting a few lines from the burial of Demos, the patriot robber.

"Καὶ τῶρα μ' ἤρθε θάνατος, καὶ θέλω ν' ἄποι θάνατ

Κάμετε τὸ κιβώρι μου πλατὶ, ψηλὸ νὰ γένῃ

Νὰ στεκ' ὀρθὸν νὰ πολέμῳ, καὶ δίπλα νὰ γεμίζω"

"And now death has come to me and I want to die,
Make my grave broad, let it be high

That I may stand upright to fight and stoop to load my musket."

We then get a specimen of the fervid eloquence and exalted patriotism of Coraes, the greatest figure in the history of modern Greece and a funeral oration by Tricoupis on Lord Byron in 1824, who was then rightly called *Μπαίρων*, pronounced as in English, but is now spelt, as in English, *Βύρων* and pronounced "Veeron."

Part IV. gives judiciously chosen extracts from contemporary Greek writers, articles from newspapers, a first-rate translation of Othello's speech to the Senators and an extract from the Rabagas of Sardou, which, as is pointed out in one of the dialogues, makes it almost a pleasure to read modern Greek with the help of the spirited French original. Some poetical specimens conclude this part, which, we trust, we have shown to be as interesting as it is useful. Part V. is a vocabulary of the most useful words, preceded by an alphabetical index, the English words in each subject being also, as far as possible, arranged alphabetically. A specimen of modern Greek handwriting concludes the volume.

As regards its deficiencies, the foremost is that it is not the work of one man or even of two, a circumstance which, in other respects, tends to render it more complete and interesting. Some passages are idiomatic to a fault; others combine ancient with modern forms in a manner which, although perfectly legitimate in the present stage of modern Greek, is incongruous. Some English renderings are done by a more careful hand than others. Nor are the definitions of modern Greek sounds always happy, even at the outset. For instance, the third letter of the Greek alphabet is said to be a sound "between *g* and *h*." It may be no doubt *transliterated* by both "*gh*," (though the *sound* is certainly not like any rendered by or *between* those two letters), but it is *pronounced* like the "*ghain*" of Arabic words in Hindustani or like the Northumbrian "*r*," or like the French "*r grasseyé*." If these definitions do not convey any meaning to the reader, then the sound must be learnt by practice. Again, *χ* is as "*ch*" in *loch* in certain cases and as "*ch*" in "*nicht*" in German in other cases. The author, however, flounders between some fanciful notion of the pronunciation of the German "*ch*" and the Florentine "*c*." We also can scarcely believe that the ear would always tell "whether *ἀφ*' and *καθ*' or *ἀπ*' and *κατ*' are right" according as to whether the word following these prepositions begins with a hard or soft breathing, (*Vide* page 10.) "*Εἰς τὸν τόπον*" is "in the place" not "in the country." It is rather hard to have the hybrid passage regarding "the Protestant Church" before one has even mastered the pronouns. Why are not all the exercises as brief and sensible as those that follow the pronouns, with the exception of the sentence "the neutral powers offered their mediation?" "These horrid antiquities," in a

letter, is scarcely exact for *παλαιοαρχαϊότηας*, which queer word is equivalent to "old antiquities." The exercises on certain "Rules of Syntax," pages 117 to 119, appear to be written by an intelligent native. The dialogues require a little more careful editing. The starved passenger on board the steamer to the Piræus says "I must *have* something" in good English, it is true, but the Greek *πρέπει νὰ φάγω κάτι τι* is "I must eat something," or even more accurately, in French, "Il faut que je mange quelque chose." "Dragomen," as if "Dragoman" were composed of "drago" and "man," is too absurd. However, these are mere blots in the sun. The authors invite hints or suggestions which may render the book more useful or more complete, in view of a future edition, which, we are convinced, will be called for, because the work is not only *facile princeps* among hand-books of modern Greek, but also, in its practical arrangement and thoughtfulness, a model for linguistic hand-books generally.

G. W. L.

MATHEW ARNOLD ON WORDSWORTH.

IT is but fit that Wordsworth's love for Mathew the schoolmaster should be repaid by a distinguished Inspector of Schools who bears the same Christian name. Mr. Arnold has lately selected and edited a volume of poems by the Late Laureate which is sure to attract the attention of students of English literature, no less for the value of the poems themselves than for the preface with which the editor has introduced them. His principal points may be thus summarised. He commences his introductory essay by an anecdote of Lord Macaulay, and, in accordance with the historian's dictum, admits that Wordsworth enjoyed his chief popularity about ten years before his death. But he argues that this was due to the facts that the best poems were written before the first decade of the century had closed; that Wordsworth's shorter pieces were his best; and that he seemed almost blind to the difference between his own best work and his worst. Mr. Arnold, however, pronounces that, without being, as he says he himself is, a member of the Wordsworthian clique or persuasion, the poetical reader will, or ought to, place this author among the greatest of modern poets. The only modern poets entitled to take rank before him, it is maintained, are Shakespeare, Milton, Moliere, Goethe; and though, after these, he is upon the same level, and above Spenser, Dryden, Burns, Byron, Keats, Lamartine, Musset, and Victor Hugo, this superiority is claimed, not it should seem in virtue of the *Laodamia*, or the *Ode on Immortality*, but rather of those minor works in which the poet is most

natural in his manner. The editor's own favourites are said to be *Michael*, the *Fountain*, and *The Reaper*. Thus nakedly stated, the proposition must be confessed to be strained, and to wear the air of a paradox. Mr. Arnold's own poetry is of so different a type, so permeated with antique influences, and so full of an exquisite artificialness, that it comes with a better grace from him than it would from an ordinary critic. But is it true? To be sure we cannot say what the poetical reader *should* do; but what is his practice may be adumbrated by experience. And, tried by such a test, it can scarcely be said that the pieces mentioned, whatever be their purity of thought or their directness of utterance, have been found to excel the *Fuery Queen*, the *Absalom*, *Don Juan*, *Rolla*, or *Les Châtiments* "in power and in interest," the two qualities especially claimed as touchstones by Mr. Arnold.

Michael is a tale in blank verse, about 450 lines in length, about an aged couple whose only son went to live in a town and "gave himself to evil courses;" while the old couple, after vainly trying to occupy themselves in building a sheep-fold of uncemented stones, died nearly at the same time. The cottage was deserted, "the ploughshare has been through the ground

"On which it stood, great changes have been wrought
In all the neighbourhood. Yet the oak is left
That grew beside their door; and the remains
Of the unfinished sheep-fold may be seen
Beside the boisterous brook of Greenhead Ghyll."

This is all; nor does poem atone by power of diction for its debility of plot or incident. There is nothing in it that has become household words, like so many quotations from poets whom Mr. Arnold deems far inferior—say Pope or Campbell. The passages which he himself selects for especial commendation are these two:—

- (1.) "Think
"On man, the heart of man, and human life."
- (2.) "And never lifted up a single stone."

The *Fountain* is a short set of stanzas relating a conversation with the school-master mentioned already, in which the poet begins by asking "the grey-haired man of glee" to sing him a comic song. The old gentleman declines, alleging that "many love him, but by none is he enough beloved." On which Wordsworth, taking him by the hand, offers to take the place of his dead children. The school-master curtly declines this offer, and accedes to the former proposition.

"And, ere we came to Leonard's rock,
"He sang those witty rhymes
"About the crazy old church clock
"And the bewildered chimes."

The *Fountain* remains unchronicled. Last on Mr. Arnold's list of

instances of power and interest comes *The Solitary Reaper*, a pretty little poem, expressive of the sweet voice of a Highland lass and the hearer's inability to understand what she was singing, probably by reason of its being in Gaelic. It consists of four stanzas.

Surely perverse audacity could not well go further than claiming for these commonplace efforts a rank not below that of *Samson Agonistes*, *Lycidas*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, or the first part of *Faust*. (It is not clear on what ground a prose writer of comedies, Moliere, is associated.) But the others!

The explanation probably is that Mr. Arnold is, as he says, a Wordsworthian; and it is the part of those idolatrous disciples to accept their master's words as gospel. About 1748 Wordsworth wrote a prose essay—the original preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*, in which he contended that poetry ought to speak the language of common life. Whether this doctrine was true or false, it was hardly original, having been largely adopted by both Burns and Cowper, to the former of whom Wordsworth has distinctly referred as his master in the following lines on that poet's death:—

"He was gone,

"Whose light I hailed when first it shone,

"And showed my youth

"How verse may build a princely throne on humble truth."

But in sober earnest this system did not greatly prosper in Wordsworth's hands; and the somewhat drivelling manner into which it led him, goes far to justify the persistent ridicule of the professional critics who were then paramount. Even Mr. Arnold is obliged to admit that Jeffrey was right in saying of such work as *The Excursion* that "this will never do." [The famous review which began in this way has never been quite proved to have been the work of Jeffrey; we have heard it attributed to both Brougham and Empson. But this is not very momentous.]

Mr. Johnston's selection (*Early Poems of Wordsworth*, Moxon, 1857) will be found, we think, a simpler and a better selection than that now before us; as the preface, though without the luminous glow of Mr. Arnold's undoubted genius, is more suited to plain readers. In this essay we are told that the author's original objections to "the established poetic diction" were carried to such an extreme, that in the earlier editions many of the verses "were so familiar and prosaic as to be unsuitable to his own theory of the nature of poetry.—'The spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings.'" But however opinionated and self-trustful he may have been, Wordsworth learned from his own matured judgment that the judgment passed on him by the world was true. And Mr. Johnston goes on with perfect propriety to observe that the alterations made in subsequent editions "will be found to be

almost all in the direction of greater dignity and refinement." These alterations, so far as they have been recorded by Mr. Johnston, occur most in the very pieces which Mr. Arnold least approves, but which have furnished the most numerous quotations and portable phrases to the ordinary run of mankind, by whose award even the greatest writer must be ultimately bound. From the judgment of contemporaries there is an appeal to the high court of posterity; but there is no tribunal beyond. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*

Mr. Arnold bows no more to the verdict of the public than to the decision of his author.

In the *Luodumia* he gives the first stanza as it appeared in 1815, ignoring without remark the form in which it was afterwards re-written by Wordsworth. In a subsequent stanza he adopts the certainly happy substitution of

"A fervent, not ungovernable love.

For the somewhat ludicrous line of 1815.

In the *Ode to Duty*, the second stanza, as amended by the author, ended thus :—

"O ! if through confidence misplaced

They fail, thy saving arms, dread Power, around them cast."

Here, again, Mr. Arnold reverts to the rejected reading.

"May joys be theirs while life shall last,

And Thou ! if they should totter, teach them to stand fast."

Lastly, in the *Ode on Intimations of Immortality*, a like course is adopted. Wordsworth's deliberate emendations are adopted in stanzas III., IX., but rejected in VIII. For instance, in the last, where Wordsworth wrote "Forbide not," Mr. Arnold wilfully read "Think not of."

This seems wild work. If Wordsworth was right in giving greater elaboration and richness to his expressions, his corrections should in all cases be followed, hallowed, and preserved. If we say that he was only partly right, we put ourselves above Wordsworth, whom we have already put above Byron and Victor Hugo. Perhaps, in sometimes using Wordsworth's corrections and sometimes treating them with silent scorn, Mr. Arnold meant to assume for himself that elevated position. Humbler readers would probably prefer to see the poems as the author finally delivered them.

No doubt, in mere productive power, he lost as he grew older; though his judgment—as was naturally to be expected—improved with the cultivation, such as it was, of his taste. Of his extreme old age we have heard a story from an eye-witness, which, in a chastened form, we will endeavour to repeat. In return for Mr.

Arnold's story of Macaulay's estimate of Wordsworth's waning popularity, the present writer may be allowed to finish with an anecdote told him by one who, as a schoolboy, knew Macaulay well.

This young scholar had been on a visit to the aged poet at Rydal Mount, and, on his return, related to his distinguished friend what he thought an odd trait of his host. It was, he said, the habit of the Laureate to retreat after breakfast to a cabinet in the garden, which was something more private and necessary than a mere summer-house; and here he would remain till lunch, when he would join the party with a copy of verses, the produce of his retirement. The clever schoolboy added that, though the custom was highly interesting as a feature in the life of so illustrious a man, the verses themselves were not, as a rule, remarkable for any very extraordinary merit, so far as he could perceive. Macaulay instantly replied by quoting that sad strain of pessimism from the *Ædipus Coloneus*, which may be thus paraphrased:—

“Not to have been excels all history;
But—having been—to go the soonest back.
There whence you came is far the second best.”

On the whole Wordsworth must be taken for a rural poet, gentle and disinterested; not of the very highest culture, yet by no means unsophisticated; theoretically a slave to nature, yet never so great as when most artificial. His ultimate place in the favour of posterity is probably determined already, and Mr. Arnold's pleadings will not affect the question. A few of the poems will live; the latest and longest are already rotting on Lethe Wharf along with *Joan of Arc*, *Madoc*, and other growths of that active time “when George was King.”

Select Epigrams from Martial for English Readers. Translated by W. T. Webb, M. A., Professor of History and Political Economy, Presidency College, Calcutta. London: Macmillan and Co. 1879.

TO readers who wish to make the acquaintance of the most genial of Roman humourists, and who lack the knowledge of Latin that would enable them to do so in the original, we can safely recommend Mr. Webb's clever and fairly faithful translations of Martial. Latin scholars may feel inclined to think that undue liberty has been sometimes taken with the text, but it will generally be found that, where this is the case, a more literal rendering would have been comparatively pointless. Of all the ancient authors, perhaps, Martial is most successful in recreating for us the atmosphere of the age and place in which he lived, and

he is at the same time especially rich in those touches of nature that make the whole world kin. His stand-point is essentially that of the man of the world, rather than the moralist, and even when he hits hardest, he does so more or less playfully.

In his more serious moods, it is to tears rather than anger that he inclines, and his verses abound in touches of exquisite pathos.

Take, for instance, the last two lines of the following elegy on the death of the little Canace. As illustrative of the difference between Roman habits of thought and our own, it may be noted that they follow a description the minuteness of which would revolt modern delicacy of feeling.

Aeolidos Canace jacet hoc tumulata sepulcro,
Ultima cui parvæ septima venit hiemps.

Ah scelus ! ah facinus ! properas quid flere, viator ?
Non licet hic vitæ de brevitate queri.

Tristius est leto leti genus ; horrida voltus
Abstulit et tenero sedit in ore lues,
Ipsaque crudeles ederunt oscula morbi,
Nec data sunt nigris tota labella rogis
Si tam præcipiti fuerant ventura volatu,
Debuerant alia fata venire via.

Sed mors vocis iter properavit eludere blandæ,
Ne posset duras flectere lingua deas.

Little Aeolian Canace

Lies buried 'neath this marble floor,
Seven winters did the maiden see,
And after them no winter more.

" Ah bitter fate, ah timeless bane ! "

Nay, mourn not thus, kind passer-by.
Enough, we may not here complain
That she, while yet so young, should die.

For cruel cancer's hateful doom
Her child-face wasted in its ire,
Devoured her kisses' fragrant bloom,
Nor left whole lips to grace her pyre.

Twice sad is death that comes like this :
For if the Fates were purposed still
To seize with sudden swoop, I wis'
There yet were other ways to kill.

But death with hasty footsteps went
To close the doors of speech, for fear,
These cruel goddesses relent,
If her sweet voice should reach their ear.

As examples of the poet's satiric vein, the following may serve for specimens, the first purely jocular, the last probably too bitter to be altogether serious.

Cur non mitto meos tibi, Pontiliane, libellos ?
Ne mihi tu mittas, Pontiliane, tuos.

Why, Sir, I don't my verses send you,
 Pray, would you have the reason known?
 The reason is—for fear, my friend, that you
 Should send me, in return, your own.

Omnes quas habuit, Fabiane, Lycoris amicas
 Extulit: uxori fiat amica mea.

Lycoris, Sir, has made an end.
 At length of every female friend.
 'Tis now my only wish in life,
 That she, for friend, would take my wife.

Not the least valuable portion of Mr. Webb's work is the admirable introduction on domestic life and manners in Martial's day. It is to be regretted that he has been so sparing of his selections.

A Hindu Gentleman's Reflections respecting the Works of Swedenborg and the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church.
 James Speirs, 36 Bloomsbury Street, London: 1878.

THIS curious little work presents us with the story of a Hindu who, after seeking in vain in the theosophy of his co-religionists, and of Christianity as accepted by various sects, for a satisfactory explanation of the Divine purpose in respect of man, has found what he believes to be the true solution in the doctrines of Emanuel Swedenborg. Apart from the question of the merits of Swedenborgianism, it possesses a two-fold interest,—first, as containing a searching exposition of the difficulties of Christianity as viewed from a stand-point at once friendly and, in a certain sense, independent, and secondly, as exhibiting a close relationship between certain of the transcendental views of the Swedish mystic and the doctrines of the Upanishads.

We speak of the writer's point of view as in a certain sense independent, because, though free from bias as to the mode of solution of the problem, he stands on the same platform as the Christian in respect to its main conditions. In other words, he assumes, and seeks to reconcile, the existence of an All-wise, all-powerful and beneficent Creator, of moral evil and of human free will. In Dadoba Pandurang's statement of the difficulties of Christianity, as ordinarily received, there is nothing that will not have presented itself to most persons who have considered the subject in the light of reason, or that has not been frequently urged before. They concern chiefly:—

The Doctrine of the Trinity.

The Origin of Evil or Sin, as related in the early chapters of Genesis.

The Eternity of Future Rewards and Punishments, and their nature and description.

The Doctrine of Justification by Faith and Charity.

The Doctrine of the Resurrection.

The Doctrine of the Last Judgment.

Free Will or Free Determination.

The Doctrine of Salvation through the Sacrificial Atonement made by Jesus Christ.

The Fate or Future Destiny of the Gentiles or Heathens, as it is understood by Christians in general.

The following passages from the chapter "on the Eternity" of rewards and punishments will give the reader some idea of the writer's attitude, as well as of the curious similarity between Swedenborg's ecstatic experiences and those of the Indian jogis, a similarity which, it will be seen, has led them to employ almost identical expressions to describe some of their phases :—

"The idea of the eternity of rewards and punishments, as it is alleged by the Christians as their future destiny, in my opinion militates against all our notions of the justice and mercy of the benevolent Creator and Preserver of this universe. This difficulty is greatly increased when viewed in connection with the extreme narrowness of the path which, according to the Christian doctrine (Matthew vii. 13-14) as it is usually preached, leads to man's salvation and final beatitude. . . . The Christian, accustomed as he is to read and hear of the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments as a tenet of his belief and matter of faith, is apt naturally to treat and view it in no other light than that, and consequently fails to discern in it the awful injustice and inexorableness of God, which are involved in it. . . . The difficulty is increased when we consider that man is a being He has created out of His pure love, and that judgment is supposed to be passed some thousands of years after his death. . . . However sinful a man may be conceived to be, and however intense may be the nature of his sinful acts, living even to the full period allotted to his existence in this world, the mere mention of the Divine Judge pronouncing against the culprit a sentence, under which he is to be consigned to a hell in which the fire will never be quenched, and in which the worm will never die, from which he is never, never to come out, even to take the breath of repentance, is too horrible to be listened to by the sensitiveness of a Hindu ear. . . . Not to speak of the ordinary run of wicked men in this world dying prematurely, and yet subject indiscriminately to the same everlasting punishment in hell, a very insignificant, almost infinitesimal number indeed, of good and pious Christians—good according to the dogmas of each sect and denomination among hundreds, and exclusively Christian minds—are destined, on the other hand, to join in the chorus of the seraphim and cherubim in heaven for ever and ever. Well may the Christians heartily laugh at and treat with contempt the doctrines of the transmigration of the soul, so tenaciously held by the Hindus, as quite unreasonable and puerile. The Hindu has still more reason to repudiate strongly the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments, as entertained and preached by almost all the Christians."

"With this view which I held on the subject, it was not a little satisfaction that I must be supposed to have derived from the fact that this narrow exclusiveness and the great irrationality which characterise the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments, as is held by the generality of the Christians, have been most truthfully and sternly avoided in the broad and

rational view which the New Church appeared to me to have presented to the world on that subject. With this view, I exclaim that while the doctrines of all other Christian Churches are silent with the finger on the lips on this most important question, on which every man and woman may be secretly meditating; every human being may be naturally more or less inquisitive as to what must be the immediate state of the dear soul which has just left this world. When they meet together to weep over its departure, yours is the only Church that comes forward, to the great joy, I exclaim, of the whole human family, to break this everlasting silence, by assuring us that no sooner the human soul leaves its earthly tabernacle, than it opens its spiritual eyes (of the existence of which no man can entertain any rational doubt) in another world, in every respect similar to the one in which it had been moving but a few hours before.

"I cannot but consider Swedenborg to be fully competent to afford us correct insight, not only into the state of the soul immediately after its release from the earthly habitation in which it had dwelt, but also into the various states and stages of its future peregrinations in the spiritual world. I have been fully convinced of such competency on his part from the account which he gives in his book of the state of his own mind, when he alleges that he witnessed the different scenes in the spiritual world. I fully believe in the fact that the human mind is capable of attaining to a state which he describes in his own words as follows :—

"When man is withdrawn from the body, he is brought into a state between sleeping and waking, in which he cannot know any other than that he is quite awake. All his senses are as active in this state as in the highest wakefulness of the body; the sight, the hearing, and, what is wonderful, the touch—for the touch is even more exquisite now than ever it can be when the body is awake. Spirits and angels are seen in all the reality of life; they are heard also, and, what is wonderful, they are touched—for scarcely anything of the body intervenes between them and the man. This is the state which is called *being absent from the body*, of which it was said by one who experienced it, *whether he were in the body or out of the body he could not tell*. I have been let into this state only three or four times that I might know the nature of it, and be assured that spirits and angels enjoy every sense, and that man does also, as to his spirit, when he is withdrawn from the body."—(*Heaven and Hell*, No. 440.)

"This very state of the mind or soul to which Swedenborg alludes, is largely dwelt upon by the Hindu psychologists, and is particularly distinguished by them under the technical term of *Turya*, or the fourth state, in addition to the three states of wakefulness, dreaming, and profound sleep, of which three every human being is fully cognisant.* As a mere hint to the unknowing, they (the Hindus) described the *Turya* state of the mind exactly in the language in which our Swedenborg describes it in the above extract—*viz.*, a state of the mind 'between sleeping and waking'; not a dreaming state though, as it is apt to be mistaken for, but a state in which a man feels, and is fully conscious that he is not dreaming, and is yet not fully awake as regards the outward objects around him, of which he takes no cognisance whatever, though all his senses are exquisitely active in the knowledge and enjoyment of their respective objects. It would not, I hope, be thought too much, or in any way suspected as egotistic or self-assertive on my part, were I, with all due submission, to assure my readers at this place that I myself have had an experience of this state of the mind two

* It is also called by the Hindu Yogis as the translation of Swedenborg's "being the *Videha sthiti* of man, which is exactly absent from the body."

or three times—once just about the time one morning of my waking early. Not yet fully awake to any object in the room in which I was then sleeping, I felt, and felt most vividly indeed in a manner I had not done ever before, as if I had sat up on my bed eating a plantain, which I peeled off in a most satisfactory manner, and ate with all the exquisite pleasure of reality; and yet I felt that I was fully conscious of all this having been done as in a state of my wakefulness, and not in a dream. It was this sensation of consciousness, if I may so express it, of my being then fully awake that has left so vivid an impression on my mind, that I have ever since remembered it as that very fourth state, or something resembling it, on which those who practised the Yoga in India have so largely, vividly, and rapturously dwelt in all their mystic writings and songs, and regarding which I now find Swedenborg has thrown out a most significant hint in the above quotation. . . . This is no doubt a probationary life, in which every man appears to me to be unconsciously manufacturing for himself his own future destiny, if I may be allowed so to express it. I see every human being in this world as a manufacturer of his own futurity, according to the reception by him of good and evil, which is to constitute the basis on which rest his future rewards or punishments, in obedience to the turn which the inward man seems incessantly to be giving to his mind, by his good and pious, or by his evil and wicked thoughts and propensities, and by the nature and amount of the acts in which those thoughts are ultimately seen constantly ending as their ultimata. The constant revolution of the mind, or rather of the soul, with such thoughts in individuals, strengthened as they continue to be by their practical acts, ultimately prepare it (the soul) for its future destination. Swedenborg reveals to us, in his description of heaven and hell, the nature and duration of such destination, and this appears to be in perfect harmony with the wisdom, justice, and mercy displayed in God's government of the universe. His division of heaven into three, called by him the ultimate or first heaven, the middle or second heaven, and the inmost or third heaven, if not quite coincident with the three divisions of the universe known to the followers of the Vedas under the name of their holy *Vyārhiti*, or by the word *Triloki* or *Trilokyam*, has at least a re-echo in these terms. His division of the heavens into kingdoms and societies innumerable is quite in harmony with the notion which the Indian Aryans hold in reference to the existence of *Swarghas* (spiritual heavens above), and as many *Patalas* (heavens below), and twenty-one *Narkas* (hells),* and the innumerable *Lokas* (spiritual or celestial societies and communities).

"I have met with no satisfactory solution elsewhere of the most irreconcilable and desponding doctrine, which is universally believed in by almost all the Christians, *viz.*, that the salvation of the human soul, and the attainment of heaven consequent upon it, can hardly be effected without a belief in Christ through baptism and the administration of the Holy Sacrament, except in the clear exposition of the tenets on this most vital question brought forth by the Church of the New Jerusalem in the writings of its great founder. What parents, whether Christians or heathen, I ask, would not feel a most heartfelt consolation in the fate after death, as it is described by Swedenborg, of the little children, and of the millions of heathens who are daily and hourly ushering into the next world, but who, from their helpless and unavoidable condition, are precluded from the benefits accessible to grown-up Christians of mature age and consideration? Let us see what

* These spiritual heavens, above and below, and the twenty-one *Narkas* (hells), are found fully described in the various *Purāṇas*, and, among these, in the *Śrīmad*

Bhagavata Skandha, &c., v. *Adhyaya*, 24, 25, 26, (See Burnouf's translation of ditto). Wilson's *Vishnu Purāṇa*, 1st Edition, page 212.

Swedenborg says regarding the fate of children in the next world, in the following extract from his *Heaven and Hell* and other works:—

“‘Some believe’ (says Swedenborg) ‘that only the infants who are born within the Church are admitted into heaven, but not those who are born out of the Church; and they assign as a reason that infants within the Church are baptized, and are thus initiated into the faith of the Church’* (How unreasonable is this opinion!), but they are not aware that no one receives heaven or faith by baptism, for *baptism is only a sign and memorial that man is to be regenerated*, and so forth.”—(See *Heaven and Hell*, No. 329.)

“Here Swedenborg gives his correct view as to the efficacy of the rite of baptism. Further he goes on to tell you how the infants fare after they have died.

“‘When infants die’ (says he) ‘they are still infants in the other life. They possess the same infantile mind, the same innocence in ignorance, and the same tenderness in all things. They are only in rudimental states introductory to the angelic; for infants are not angels, but become angels. Every one on his decease is in a similar state of life to that in which he was in the world; an infant in a state of infancy, a boy in a state of boyhood, and a youth, a man, or an old man, in the state of youth, of manhood, or of age; but the state of every one is afterwards changed. The state of infants excels that of all others because they are in innocence, and evil is not yet rooted in them by actual life; for innocence is of such a nature that all things of heaven may be implanted in it, because innocence is the receptacle of the truth of faith, and of the good of love’—(*Heaven and Hell*, No. 330.)

“How sound and reasonable this view is. He then goes on to describe the state in which infants are placed, and the treatment they receive at the hands of their guardian angels:

“‘As soon as infants are raised from the dead,’ says Swedenborg, ‘which takes place immediately after their decease, they are carried up into heaven, and delivered to the care of angels of the female sex, who in the life of the body loved infants tenderly, and at the same time loved God. Since these angels, when in the world, loved all infants from a sort of maternal tenderness, they receive them as their own; and the infants also, from an affection implanted in them, love them as their own mothers. Every female angel has as many infants under her care as she desires from a spiritual maternal affection,’ &c., &c.—(*Heaven and Hell*, No. 332.) . . .

“Swedenborg has devoted a whole chapter to the subject of the children’s treatment, pastimes, and education in heaven, up to the time they are grown up and perfected into full-grown angels.

“Let us now hear what he has to declare concerning the heathens and gentiles who die beyond the pale of the Christian Church, and see how perfectly his declaration is in harmony with our intuitive knowledge, and with the wisdom and mercy of the great Heavenly Father of mankind.

“‘It is a common opinion,’ says Swedenborg, ‘that they who are born out of the Church, and are called heathens or gentiles, cannot be saved; because they do not possess the Word, and thus are ignorant of the Lord’ (*but this is no fault at all of the heathens, but, according to the opinion of such thinkers, if accepted, of the Lord himself, in having thus kept them ignorant*), ‘without whom there is no salvation; but it is certain that they may be saved, because the mercy of the Lord is universal, and extends to every individual’ (*no doubt of it*); ‘because they are born men as well as those who are within

* The words in *italics* in the parentheses here and every where in the quotations are my own.

the Church, who are respectively few, and because it is no fault of theirs that they are ignorant of the Lord.' (*I can make no distinction between the pride of some Christians on this score that they belong to the Church of God, and that of the Jews and the Pharisees in the Old Testament, who believed that they were the only chosen people of God, and the rest of the world, whom they called Gentiles, were not the objects of His equal care and mercy.*) 'Every one who thinks from any measure of enlightened reason may see that no man is born for hell, because the Lord is 'love' itself, and His love consists in being willing to save all; and therefore He has provided that all shall have some kind of religion, and thence acknowledge a Divine being, and possess interior life; for to live according to religion is to live interiorly, because then a Divine being is respected, and so far as he is regarded man does not regard the world, but removes himself from the world, and consequently from the life of the world, which is 'exterior life.' (This is a sound, reasonable, and universally acceptable doctrine.)—*Heaven and Hell*, No. 318.)

"Then Swedenborg goes on reasoning very cogently, showing in the relation of his vision of heaven that good and pious heathens have as easy an entrance into heaven as the good and pious Christians themselves; of course, after their being perfected in the knowledge of the Lord, and of His unalterable mercy in having so far condescended as to 'have assumed the form of a man on our earth, to show to the whole human race the way of salvation,—a fact on which most of the Christians have but a vague and imperfect notion."

In one respect Dadoba Pandurung's reflections are disappointing. He gives no reason for attaching to the visions of the "fourth state" an objective significance which he would refuse to the dreams seen in sleep, still less for the special interpretation which is assigned to the visions of Swedenborg in the "New Jerusalem." Our object, however, is not to enter upon a philosophic examination of the truth of the writer's views, but merely to set them before the reader.

The chapter on the doctrine of the Resurrection furnishes some remarkable points of agreement between Swedenborg and the Upanishads and other Hindu writings.

Across the Zodiac: The Story of a Wrecked Record, deciphered, translated and edited by Percy Greg, author of the "Devil's Advocate," &c. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1880.

ON the 25th August, 1867 Colonel A—, through a strange accident, became possessed of the record from which the story of this remarkable voyage is derived. The vessel that was carrying him to Brisbane, ran upon a coral reef, about a mile from a small island in the South Pacific, and out of sight of all other land. While lying on a hillock in this island, the crew being employed at the time in constructing a raft, he suddenly saw what appeared, at first, like a brilliant star, which increased in size, as it approached, with such rapidity

that it presently obscured the sun. In another moment a tremendous shock deprived him of consciousness, and, when he recovered, he found that some great convulsion had occurred. Trees were torn up and broken in all directions, and fragments of stone, earth, and coral rock flung around.

Proceeding towards the centre of the disturbance, he found that the earth had been torn open as if by some gigantic explosion, and a crater formed, some two or three hundred feet in circumference. Digging subsequently amid the *debris* with which this crater was filled, he discovered, among pieces of glass, of various metals and of wood, some of which seemed to have been portions of furniture, a case of enormous thickness and solidity, made of some metallic alloy, the principal constituent of which resembled aluminium, and containing a manuscript, written in cipher, on a substance, like a very fine linen or silken web, but closer in texture and resembling nothing used for a similar purpose upon this earth. On being deciphered, an operation which occupied several years, the manuscript proved to be composed in a species of mediæval Latin, and to contain the narrative part of which has been condensed by Mr. Percy Greg in these volumes. The narrator, having become possessed of the secret of apergic force, and of the means of generating it in large quantity, determined to utilise it in the realisation of a desire that had haunted him from his childhood and undertake a voyage across the Zodiac, first to Mars, and subsequently to such other planets as circumstances might suggest. The facilities offered by the apergic force for this purpose depended on its property of acting, by repulsion, through air or in a vacuum, in a single straight line, without deflection and seemingly without diminution, pursuing indefinitely the direction in which it emerged from an antapergic sheath, or conductive bar.

Thus, by collecting the current from the generator in a vessel cased with antapergic material, and leaving no other aperture, its entire volume could be sent into a conductor, and, by a convenient device, turned upon a Sun or planet, as a resistant body, and so made to propel the vessel in any direction.

"Having determined," says the author of the MS., "to take advantage of the approaching opposition of Mars in MDCCCxx . . . , * I had my vessel constructed with walls three feet thick, of which the outer six and the inner three inches were formed of the metalloid. In shape my Astronaut somewhat resembled the form of an antique Dutch East-Indiaman, being widest and longest in a plane equi-distant from floor and ceiling, the sides and

* Last figure illegible: the year is probably 1830.

ends sloping outwards from the floor and again inwards towards the roof. The deck and keel, however, were absolutely flat, and each one hundred feet in length and fifty in breadth, the height of the vessel being about twenty feet. In the centre of the floor and in that of the roof, respectively, I placed a large lens of crystal, intended to act as a window in the first instance, the lower to admit the rays of the Sun, while through the upper I should discern the star towards which I was steering. The floor being much heavier than the rest of the vessel, would naturally be turned downwards; that is, during the greater part of the voyage towards the Sun. I placed a similar lens in the centre of each of the four sides, with two plane windows of the same material, one in the upper, the other in the lower half of the wall, to enable me to discern any object in whatever direction. The crystal in question consisted of . . . , which, as those who manufactured it for me are aware, admits of being cast with a perfection and equality of structure throughout, unattainable with ordinary glass, and wrought to a certainty and accuracy of curvature which the most patient and laborious polishing can hardly give to the lenses even of moderate-sized telescopes, whether made of glass or metal, and is singularly impervious to heat. I had so calculated the curvature that several eye-pieces of different magnifying powers which I carried with me might be adapted equally to any of the window lenses, and throw a perfect image, magnified by 100, 1,000, or 5,000, upon mirrors properly placed.

"I carpeted the floor with several alternate layers of cork and cloth. At one end I placed my couch, table, bookshelves, and other necessary furniture, with all the stores needed for my voyage, and with a further weight sufficient to preserve equilibrium. At the other, I made a garden with soil three feet deep and five feet in width, divided into two parts, so as to permit access to the windows. I filled each garden closely with shrubs and flowering plants of the greatest possible variety, partly to absorb animal waste, partly in the hope of naturalising them elsewhere. Covering both with wire netting extending from the roof to the floor, I filled the cages thus formed with a variety of birds. In the centre of the vessel was the machinery, occupying altogether a space of about thirty feet by twenty. The larger portion of this area was, of course, taken up by the generator, above which was the receptacle of the aergy. From this descended right through the floor a conducting bar in an antapergic sheath, so divided that, without separating it from the upper portion, the lower might revolve in any direction through an angle of twenty minutes (20'). This, of course, was intended to direct the

stream of the repulsive force against the Sun. The angle might have been extended to thirty minutes, but that I deemed it inexpedient to rely upon a force, directed against the outer portions of the Sun's disc, believing that these are occupied by matter of density so small that it might afford no sufficient base, so to speak, for the repulsive action. It was obviously necessary also to repel or counteract the attraction of any body which might come near me during the voyage. Again, getting free from the Earth's influence, I must be able to steer in any direction and at any angle to the surface. For this purpose I placed five smaller bars, passing through the roof and four sides, connected, like the main conductor, with the receptacle or apergion, but so that they could revolve through a much larger angle, and could at any moment be detached and insulated.

"My steering apparatus consisted of a table in which were three large circles. The midmost and left hand of these were occupied by accurately polished plane mirrors. The central circle, or metacompass, was divided by three hundred and sixty-five lines, radiating from the centre to the circumference, marking as many different directions, each deviating by one degree of arc from the next. This mirror was to receive through the lens in the roof the image of the star towards which I was steering. While this remained stationary in the centre, all was well. When it moved along any one of the lines, the vessel was obviously deviating from her course in the opposite direction; and, to recover the right course, the repellent force must be caused to drive her in the direction in which the image had moved. To accomplish this, a helm was attached to the lower division of the main conductor, by which the latter could be made to move at will in any direction within the limit of its rotation. Controlling this helm was, in the open or steering circle on the right hand, a small knob, to be moved exactly parallel to the deviation of the star in the mirror of the metacompass. The left-hand circle, or discometer, was divided by nineteen hundred and twenty concentric circles, equi-distant from each other. The outermost, about twice as far from the centre as from the external edge of the mirror, was exactly equal to the Sun's circumference when presenting the largest disc he ever shows to an observer on Earth. Each inner circle corresponded to a diameter reduced by one second. By means of a vernier or eye-piece, the diameter of the Sun could be read off the discometer, and from his diameter my distance could be accurately calculated. On the further side of the machinery was a chamber for the decomposition of the carbonic acid, through which the air was driven by a fan. This fan itself was worked by a horizontal wheel with two projecting squares of

antapergic metal, against each of which, as it reached a certain point, a very small stream of repulsive force was directed from the apergion, keeping the wheel in constant and rapid motion."

On the 1st August the adventurous voyager entered the Astronaut, as he names his vessel, and after a passage through the regions of space during which, with slight exceptions, things happened as he had calculated, he found himself, on the thirty-ninth morning, within about 1,900,000 miles of his destination. Turning the whole force of the apergion against the centre of the planet, so as to moderate its attractive force, he then commenced his descent, which occupied four days, and finally landed, without a shock, on an isolated Martial mountain, about half an hour after the Sun had disappeared below the horizon.

The remainder of the book is occupied with an account of the narrator's life and adventures in the Martial world, of the planet itself, and of the language, laws and mode of life of its inhabitants.

Of the former, all we intend to disclose is that, after being attacked by the inhabitants, by means of trained dragons and infernal machines, as a being unrecognised by Martial science, our traveller was saved, through the intercession of the powerful leader of the Secret Society of the Star, pending the decision of the Camp-ta, or sovereign authority of the planet regarding his case. That he subsequently received Eveena, the daughter of his protector, in marriage, was presented at Court, and compelled by the Camp-ta to accept half a dozen of the loveliest maidens in the Royal Nursery as additional wives; that, having unintentionally offended the Regent by an overdose of the apergic force, directed upon his sacred person in illustration of its properties, he was pursued by the enmity of that official, and finally compelled in consequence to make his escape from the planet in the Astronaut, under circumstances of a highly tragic nature, and after his protector and his wife had been killed before his eyes.

The most interesting part of the narrative, and that to which the plot of the story is probably intended to be subordinate, is the description given of the past history and present state of Martial society. Physically resembling Tellurian humanity in every thing but their less majestic stature and proportionately longer and wider chests, the inhabitants of Mars had reached a stage of intellectual and moral development which has been attained in this world only in the dreams of certain schools of philosophers. An uncompromising utilitarianism, crushing out all the finer sentiments and every altruistic motive, had grown up in combination with an equally uncompromising intellectual subservience to the exact logic of science. The utmost enjoy-

ment of the longest possible life for himself was the paramount motive for each individual. Belief in a Creator or a future state had; long since, not only been consigned to the limbo of effete superstitions, but pronounced fatal to the progress of the race, to morality, and to the practical devotion of the Martial energies to the business of life. The conclusions of science, as accepted by the Martial understanding, were the final crux to which all personal testimony must submit itself, and the worst offence was to maintain the existence, or suggest the possibility, of anything which public opinion, as the exponent of those conclusions, had pronounced impossible. In the subordination of the forces of nature to human purpose, and in knowledge of the chemistry of life itself, they had attained to a perfection compared with which the existing state of human progress may justly be called barbarism. Elaborate mechanical devices had almost entirely supplanted manual labour, the necessity for which was still further obviated by the marvellous success achieved in the training of various animals to the performance of more or less intelligent services. Death, indeed, the Martials had not conquered, but they had eliminated disease from life. "We have found," says Esmo, "remedies for that hardening of the bones and weakening of the muscles which used to be the physical characteristics of declining years. Our hair no longer whitens; our teeth, if they decay, are now removed and naturally replaced by new ones; our eyes retain to the last the clearness of their sight. A famous physician of five thousand years back said in a controversy on this subject, that 'the clock was not made to go for ever;' by which he meant that human bodies, like the materials of machines, wore out by lapse of time. In his day this was true, since it was impossible fully to repair the waste and physical wear-and-tear of the human frame. This is no longer so. The clock does not wear out, but it goes more and more slowly and irregularly, and stops at last for some reason that the most skilful inspection cannot discover. The body of him who dies, as we say, 'by efflux of time' at the age of fifty, is as perfect as it was at five and twenty.* Yet few men live to be fifty-five,† and most have ceased to take much interest in practical life, or even in science, by forty-five."‡

The chief fatal disease recognised by physicians was 'efflux of time.' Life went out like a lamp when the materials sup-

* Equivalent in time to ninety-three and forty-seven with us; in effect corresponding to eighty and forty.

† About ninety; in time, one hundred and six.

‡ Seventy; in time, eighty-three.—*Narrator.*

plying the electric current are exhausted. The symptoms were reducible to one, exhaustion of the will. The patient ceased to *care*. So it became too much trouble to work; then too much trouble to read; then too much trouble to exert even those all but mechanical powers of thought which are necessary to any kind of social intercourse; then the passions died out; finally, the energy to perform the most ordinary personal acts disappeared. Then the patient was allowed to die.

In the course of Martial history communism had been tried and abandoned as an impracticable failure. As long as 13,218 years ago, when all races and nations were united in a single State, the land had been possessed by fewer than 400,000 proprietors. Factions and divisions arose; and, to gain their ends, each party in turn admitted section after section of the proletariat to the suffrage, till in 3,278 universal suffrage was granted. Then ensued a struggle between labour and wealth, ending in the establishment of universal communism. But communism resulted first in the disappearance of all perishable luxuries; then in bitter quarrels arising out of the apportionment of labour; then in general idleness and want, leading to inquisitorial processes for the restriction of population. At last secessions took place, followed by conflicts between the communists and the secessionists, in which the former sustained a crushing defeat, and private ownership was restored. In the course of time equality between the sexes was established, only to result, by its practical consequences, in re-establishing "in a more absolute form than ever the principle that the first purpose of female life is marriage and maternity; and that, for their own sakes as for the sake of each successive generation, women should be so trained as to be attractive wives and mothers of healthy children, all other considerations being subordinated to these."

As our readers will doubtless have gathered from the above brief sketch of its contents, "*Across the Zodiac*" is a satire, set in the frame-work of a romance after the manner of Swift or Jules Verne.

Though distinguished by marked literary ability and abounding in proofs of great constructive ingenuity, we hesitate to pronounce it a complete success. For a work of imagination, it is too heavily weighted with technical details which will repel the general reader, while the scientific reader will see in them only a waste of power; and as a satire, it lacks humour. We venture to predict for it a fair degree of popularity, but hardly a permanent place in literature.

The Great African Island. Chapters on Madagascar. A Popular Account of recent Researches in the Physical Geography, Geology, and Exploration of the Country, and its Natural History and Botany; and in the Origin and Divisions, Customs, and Language, Superstitions, Folk-lore, and Religious Beliefs and Practices of the different Tribes. Together with Illustrations of Scripture and Early Church History from Native Statists and Missionary Experience. By the Rev. James Sibree, Jun., F.R.G.S. of the London Missionary Society; Author of "Madagascar and its People," &c. *With Physical and Ethnographical Sketch-maps and four Illustrations.* London: Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill. 1880.

THIS is, as far as it goes, an admirable, and, in some respects, a very complete, work. The reverend author brings to his task varied learning and large experience, combined with considerable literary ability and a broad and tolerant spirit. His chapter on the early notices of the island of Madagascar displays extensive research, and is by far the most complete account of the subject we have seen. Scarcely less satisfactory is the graphic picture of the physical geography and geology of the island which occupies his second chapter, while his survey of its fauna and flora, though making no pretensions to scientific precision, is full of valuable information. In treating of the origin and divisions of the Malagasy people, he enters the lists against those who dispute their Malayo-Polynesian origin, with a result which, we think, leaves little room to doubt the accuracy of his views. The remainder of the work, dealing with the language, customs, beliefs, folk-lore, arts and manufactures of the people and with their religious and social condition, is somewhat sketchy; and will not compare for exhaustiveness with some previous accounts, but it is nevertheless highly interesting.

One serious defect marks Mr. Sibree's work. It is absolutely devoid of information regarding the administration, political economy or commerce of the island. We learn, indeed, incidentally, that there are few taxes, personal service taking their place, and we are told in one place that land is so plentiful that any one who takes the trouble to cultivate it, may do so. But this is all. Of the machinery of government; of the facilities for trade, of the status of foreign settlers in the island, and the like, we learn nothing whatever. Considering that the area of the country is four times as great as that of England; that it possesses a fertile soil, capable of yielding luxuriantly almost every tropical product; that it abounds in mineral and vegetable wealth, this is a grievous omission. The following passage about coffee plantations would almost seem inconsistent with the

author's statement regarding the tenure of land. "The coffee plant grows well in most parts of Madagascar, and in recent years large coffee plantations have been formed along the banks of the rivers on the eastern side of the island. These are chiefly managed by Creole traders, who, through their native wives, manage to get hold of land, and also employ slave labour, thus evading both their own country's laws and those of the Malagasy. Coffee promises already to become a very important article of export, and a source of wealth to the country." The inconsistency may be apparent only; but it stands in need of explanation. Elsewhere, we are told, that, by the application of European skill and capital, indigo might probably be largely grown and exported.

Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian Subjects. By Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq., F.R.S., Late of the Bengal Civil Service; corresponding Member of the Institute; Chevalier of the Legion of Honour; Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society and the Societie Asiatique; Member of the Asiatic Societies of Calcutta and London; of the Ethnological and Zoological Societies of London; and late British Minister at the Court of Nepal. 2 Vols. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1880.

NO man, living or dead, has done more for the ethnology and philology of the Non-Aryan tribes of Northern India and the adjacent countries than our late distinguished Resident at Khatmandu, and Messrs. Trübner & Co. deserve the gratitude of all scholars for collecting and republishing in these volumes the multitude of valuable papers from his pen which were scattered through the journals of the Asiatic Society and other works more or less inaccessible to the world at large. A large number of these papers are ethnological or philological; others are of a more miscellaneous character, dealing with physical geography, routes, politics and sociology.

Not the least interesting portion of the work is Mr. Hodgson's eloquent defence of the vernaculars as media of education in India.

Kings of Kashmira; being a Translation of the Sanskrita Work, Rajatarangini, of Kahlana Pandita. By Jogesh Chunder Dutt. Calcutta: Printed by I. C. Bose and Co., Stanhope Press, 249, Bow-Bazar Street, and published by the Author. 1879.

THIS is a literal translation, into not very idiomatic or correct English, of a portion of Kahlana Pandit's metrical history of Kashmir.

A critical analysis of the contents of the original, properly executed, would have been a valuable work; but whether the *Rajtarangini* was worth translating in its entirety, may be doubted. The translator has made no attempt to sift the chaff from the wheat, or to compare the half history, half romance of his author with information derived from other sources. Nevertheless the work does credit to his industry, and may prove useful.

Kahlana Pandit wrote the history of Kashmir from the earliest period to his own time, A. D. 1148, and the present translation comes down to the reign of King Hursha, A. D. 1101.

The Races of Afghanistan, being a brief Account of the principal Nations inhabiting that Country. By Surgeon Major H. A. Bellew, C.S.I., Late on Special Duty at Kabul. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1880.

DR. BELLEW'S book, written in the intervals of business at Kabul, contains by far the most complete and readable account of the races of Afghanistan that has yet been published. The facts set forth suggest two conclusions, the one that there is so little possibility of cohesion between the diverse nationalities that make up the population of Afghanistan, as to make the subjugation of the country, with proper management, a comparatively easy task; the other that the bulk of the population are ready to accept British rule, with contentment, if not alacrity, when once our supremacy is fairly established. Of the five principal tribes of Afghanistan, the Afghans and Ghilzais are irreconcilably hostile to one another and the Tajiks and Hazarahs are well disposed to the British. Dr. Bellew is a strong advocate of annexation, and he makes out a powerful case in favour of such a course. He appears to entertain no doubt of the complicity of Yakub Khan in the massacre of the Embassy.

"Yakub Khan," he says, "came down to the British camp at Gandumak to be acknowledged as Amir, and make a treaty of peace, with this idea of our timidity uppermost in his mind. His whole conduct whilst there proves that he did not consider himself or his country in our power. He saw us eager for a peace and a treaty. He on his part was eager to get us out of his country and take up the rôle which his father, who died in his refuge at Mazari Sharif beyond the Hindu Kush whilst these operations were in course of prosecution, had left him to carry to completion. To him a treaty with the British, whilst the relations of the Kabul Government with Russia were still unbroken, was not the serious thing he should have understood it to be. He had never been a friend of the British, his tendencies were on the other

side. Though an intriguer, and ambitious from his youth up, he had never evinced any partiality for the British alliance. And it was his hostility against his father, after the Amir's return from Amballa, that drove Sher Ali to make a close prisoner of him. It was out of prison that he came to Gandumak to sign a treaty with a subordinate British officer, and to get rid of us. He accepted our articles, even to the forgiving of his enemies, and to the reception in his capital of a British Embassy; but he had no intention to carry them out. And this, as was at the time predicted, and in many instances openly stated by those of his sirdars in our interest, has now been proved, sadly to our cost—by the massacre in one day of our Envoy, his staff, and escort, to the number of one hundred and twenty-three souls—all within a stone's throw of his own palace, without the Amir so much as moving a finger to help his overwhelmed guests, fighting, as they were, for their lives like heroes of the Homeric period.

"*Yakub Khan*, on the 26th May 1879, signed the Gandumak Treaty. On the 24th July he received the British Envoy, and installed him in the embassy assigned for his residence in the Bala Hissar of the city. On the 3rd September they were all destroyed by two regiments of his own household troops supposed to be in open mutiny, though they furnished guards around the Amir's palace at the very time that their comrades were doing to death a handful of strangers, the confiding guests of their master. Yakub, after the dastardly tragedy had been enacted, punished not a soul. His thoughts were turned to the subject of British vengeance, and, with strange ignorance, he satisfied himself that no British army would come to Kabul at least till the winter were past, during which interval there would be ample time to make arrangements to oppose it. How far he was out of his reckoning, he has now learned very practically."

The Science of Logic. Karwaif-ul-Mantiq, yane Ilm i Mantiq ka mufasssal Bayān. Jis ke wāste Sarkār ne inām diyā. By Rev. T. J. Scott, M.A., D.D. *A Government Prize Book.* Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Lucknow: Printed at the American Methodist Mission Press, 1879.

THIS is one of the most useful works for Hindustani students that we have seen. In its matter it follows the ordinary text-books of logic, with such modifications as were required to adapt it for the use of natives of this country, in consulting whose mental wants Mr. Scott has shown great skill. The Urdu version, which deservedly gained a Government prize, appears, as far as we have been able to test it, to be admirably done. The

only fault we have to find with the book is the disproportionately small space devoted to inductive logic, and the secondary position assigned to it.

Nilgiri Sporting Reminiscences. By an Old Shikarri. *With Twenty-six Photographs.* Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1880.

WITHOUT pretending to any very high literary merit, these sporting notes are full of valuable hints and stirring episodes, and, though they deal chiefly with the Nilgiris, will be welcome to sportsmen all over India.

The illustrations, of which there are twenty-five, have mostly been photographed from the author's sepia drawings, and, with few exceptions, they reflect high credit on his artistic skill. The landscapes, some of which are works of great beauty, are, however, far superior to the figures. The photographs from the stuffed heads are, we presume, taken direct from the originals, and leave nothing to be desired.

Under the Southern Cross. By Henry Cornish. Second Edition, revised, enlarged and illustrated. Madras: Higginbotham & Co. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. Bombay: Thacker & Co. 1880.

THIS is at once a highly interesting and a thoroughly practical account of life in Australia and Tasmania, and it possesses a special value for Anglo-Indians, in being written from their point of view, which is in many respects different from that of the ordinary English colonist. It is no mere book of travels, but enters with unusual fulness of detail into those economic questions on which it is most necessary that intending colonists should possess information. Mr. Cornish has a very high opinion of the capabilities of the Colonies, but he has, at the same time, a very keen sense of their unsuitability as places of residence for those who, from constitution or education, are incapable of roughing it, and are yet not rich enough to maintain expensive establishments. Among the matter which has been added to the present edition is a valuable chapter on commerce between India and Australia.

Peepul Leaves: Poems written in India. By H. G. Keene, Author of "Ex Erema," and "Under the Rose." London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1879.

LIKE his previous volumes, these efforts of Mr. Keene's muse will inspire a very general regret among his admirers that he is not tempted to essay a more sustained flight; some critics might,

perhaps, be inclined to add, that he does not address a wider class of readers. Where the subjects dealt with are not in themselves slight or ephemeral, the mode of treatment is incidental or fragmentary, and the point of a view is generally more or less remote from the beaten track. The one feature in Mr. Keene's poetry is probably due to lack of opportunity, for he gives us abundant evidence of power; the other, we take it, reflects the tone of the writer's mind. "*Odi profunum vulgus et arceo*" might appropriately be prefixed as a motto to these poems, as, indeed, to all that Mr. Keene writes. The cultured reader will regard this as a thing to be thankful for; and Mr. Keene would probably despise the wider popularity to which it must in the nature of things prove an insuperable bar.

Always polished and graceful, in form as nearly perfect as possible, and generally pregnant with thought, Mr. Keene's poems are entitled to a high rank among compositions of their class.

Their most prominent defect is, perhaps, a certain coldness, which some readers will be inclined to connect with the agnosticism that breathes through them. The spirit in which the sonnet on "Hope" is written, is scarcely, it will be said, compatible with fervour.

The following lines on "The Taj" may be quoted as a fair specimen of the author's method in description:—

WHITE, like a spectre seen when night is old,
 Yet stained with hues of many a tear and smart,
 Cornelian, blood-stone, matched in callous art :
 Aflame like passion, like dominion cold,
 Bed of imperial consorts whom none part
 For ever (domed with glory, heart to heart)
 Still whispering to the ages, "Love is bold,
 And seeks the height, though rooted in the mould";
 Touched, when the dawn floats in an opal mist,
 By fainter blush than opening roses own ;
 Calm in the evening's lucent amethyst ;
 • Pearl-crowned, when midnight airs aside have blown
 The clouds that rising moonlight vainly kissed ;
 —An aspiration fixed, a sigh made stone.

This combines power with delicacy, and is full of suggestive touches which sympathetic readers will probably prefer to a more realistic picture.

A Sanskrit Grammar, including both the Classical Language and the older Dialects of Veda and Brahmana. By William Dwight Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Yale College, New-haven ; Correspondent of the Academies of Berlin and St. Petersburg, and of the Institute of France, &c. Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel. London, Trübner and Co., 1879.

THERE are two ways in which grammar may be written, according as the object in view is the art of writing and speaking the language concerned as it exists at the time, or that of interpreting what has been spoken and written in it at different periods of its development: the one statical and exclusive, and properly applicable only to the treatment of a living language; the other dynamical and comprehensive, and applicable to either a living or a dead language. The work of Panini belonged essentially to the former class. Sufficient for the purpose for which it was intended, it is manifestly inadequate for the study of Sanskrit literature as a whole; for, though Panini and his commentators succeeded in fixing the forms of Sanskrit for posterity, their influence did not extend to the reconstruction of previously existing texts, including the most important of the sacred books. European grammarians have, however, hitherto been content to follow Panini; and it has been left for Professor Whitney to present us with the facts of the language as exhibited in the whole range of extant Sanskrit literature, and not exclusively as laid down by the native grammarians of a particular period.

The mode of treatment adopted by him in the grammar before us is, in short, the historical one; and while necessarily embracing the results arrived at and recorded by other scholars, it also includes much that it is the outcome of original research.

That such a work should, in the existing stage of Sanskrit studies, be exhaustive, is not to be expected. But it represents a very thorough search over a very wide range of materials.

It is distinguished by other special features, which will generally, we think, be accepted as improvements. Thus it has been the author's object "to treat the language throughout as an accented one, omitting nothing of what is known respecting the nature of the Sanskrit accent, its changes in combination and inflection, and the tone of individual words—being, in all this, necessarily dependent especially upon the material presented by the older accentuated texts."

Care has also been taken to cast all statements, classifications, and so on, into forms consistent with the teachings of linguistic science. "In doing this," says Professor Whitney, "it has been

necessary to discard a few of the long-used and familiar divisions and terms of Sanskrit grammar—for example, the classification and nomenclature of ‘special tenses’ and ‘general tenses’ (which is so indefensible that one can only wonder at its having maintained itself so long), the order and terminology of the conjugation-classes, the separation in treatment of the facts of internal and external euphonic combination, and the like. But care has been taken to facilitate the transition from the old to the new; and the changes, it is believed, will commend themselves to unqualified acceptance. It has been sought also to help an appreciation of the character of the language by putting its facts as far as possible into a statistical form. In this respect the native grammar is especially deficient and misleading.”

The grammar is preceded by an introduction, containing a succinct account of Indian literature, with a view of showing the relation between the different periods and forms of the language treated in it.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Life of Maharaja Nava Krishna Deva, Bahadoor, of Sobhabazar, Calcutta. By Bipin Behary Mittra. Printed by I. C. Bose & Co., Stanhope Press, 249, Bowbazar Street; and published by the Author. 1879.

THE life of Maharaja Nava Krishna Deva is, in one sense, the history of Bengal from 1753 to 1797 A.D. It was during this eventful period that the Black-hole tragedy took place; that the Battle of Plassey gave the East India Company a hold on Bengal; that Nawabs were set up and knocked down like nine-pins; that the Company obtained the Dewany of Bēngal, Behar and Orissa.

Nava Krishna was born in the village of Govindpore in the year 1732 A. D. He was the youngest son of Ram Charn, who, though a “Dewan,” had, on his death, left his widow, a family consisting of three sons and five daughters, in very straitened circumstances. The encroachments of the river compelled the mother to leave Govindpore, and to remove with her children to a place in *Sootanaty*, now known by the name of *Sobhabazar* (probably because one Sobharam Bysack had a *Bazar* there), where, notwithstanding her extremely limited means, she gave her sons some sort of education. A knowledge of Persian then was, as that of the English now is, the only passport to Government employ, and young Naba made the best use of his opportunities. He learnt also “Bengally, Urdu, Arabic, and English.” He then appeared as an “*Unmedwar*” before one Nakoo Dhur, the Rothschild of the

day in Bengal, by whom he was brought to the notice of the English merchants, and was subsequently appointed by Mr. Hastings his "*Moonshee*." From this time we must date the commencement of his prosperity. His biographer gives prominence to the following facts connected with his personal history:—

"Noboo Moonshee" was with Mr. Hastings when the latter was at Cossimbazar. While there, he heard of a contemplated attack on the factory by the troops of Surajud Dowlah. Thinking, no doubt, that discretion was the better part of valour, he left behind him both his employer and his employment and beat a stampede to Calcutta.

When the licentiousness and cruelty of Surajud Dowlah drove his principal Hindu ministers to the necessity of thinking of a change in the Government, they secretly deputed an agent to Mr. Drake with promises of cooperation and help, but requested him, at the same time, to get their letter read, and a reply to it written, by some confidential Hindu. It was on this occasion that Nava Krihsna was sent for, and he performed this delicate business with such success that he was appointed Moonshee to the Hon'ble East India Company on a salary of Rs. 60 per mensem.

Nava Krishna had been sent with presents and overtures of peace to the Nawab when he lay encamped at *Hulshi Bagan* (1757). The shrewd Moonshee, while ostensibly engaged on the business upon which he had been sent, carefully observed the weak points of the enemy, and communicated the result of his observations to Lord Clive. As might be expected, the British attacked the camp the following morning, which led to a peace on very favourable terms.

After the battle of Plassey, when Mir Jaffier had been installed on the throne, Messrs. Wallace, Watson, Dewan Ram Chund Roy and Moonshee Nava Krishna, as representatives of the English, went to the treasury, where they found two *crores* of Rupees, which they divided amongst themselves. It is said there was also another treasury in the *zenana* which contained silver, gold and precious stones to the value of eight million pounds. This money was appropriated to themselves by Mir Jaffier, Amir Beg Khan, Ram Chand and Nava Krishna. Thus, in the course of a single day, the Moonshee of sixty rupees per month became *per saltum* a millionaire!

When treaties of peace were concluded by Lord Clive with the Emperor of Delhi and the Nawab of Oude, Nava Krishna exercised something like ambassadorial powers. He had also the drafting of the treaties. He was afterwards intrusted with the duty of settling all differences with Maharajah Balwant Sing

of Benares and Rajah Sitab Roy of Behar, which business also he discharged to the entire satisfaction of his employers. For these various services, Lord Clive obtained for him, from the Court of Delhi, *sunnuds* conferring on him the title, first, of *Rajah Bahadoor* and afterwards of *Maharajah Bahadoor*, and appointed him likewise "*Mootsooddy*" of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

The sudden rise of "Noboo Moonsee" to power and affluence naturally created a host of enemies, among whom we may name Rajah Nund Coomar and Mr. W. Bolst. Various serious charges (and that of bribery was one of them) were brought against him, but, in their attempt to stem the full tide of his prosperity, the accusers themselves were swamped; Doorga Churn Mookerjee and others might growl and lash their tails, but for all that, Nokoo Dhur's *Omedwar* got the *Sootanaty talook*, and they had to keep their dignity in their pockets.

The Rajah's biographer seems to have taken some pains to prove that Navakrishna *Deva* was descended from a respectable *Kaistha* family. For the enlightenment of our readers, we will explain how matters actually stood, and what was Nava Krishna's *status* in the society of his countrymen.

Rajah Adisor had to perform a great ceremony; he could find no Brahmin in Bengal learned or pure enough to do it, and he had, therefore, to indent for five Brahmins from Kanouj, who were the progenitors of the Banerjees, Mookherjees, Gangoolys, Ghosalls, and Chatterjees. These Brahmins were accompanied by five *Sudras* in the capacity of servants, whose descendants to this day glory in the honor of being permitted to add *Dása* (servant) after their names, to distinguish themselves from *Sudras* of a lower class. Bullal Sein afterwards classified the Brahmins according to certain standards of excellence, and *Koolin* Brahmins even now stand the highest in rank among the Hindoos of Bengal. The *Kaistas* (*Sudras*) were divided into three classes—*Koolin*, *San-Moolik*, and *Báhatariyas*. The first contains *Ghose*, *Bose* and *Mittra*; the second, *Dey*, *Dutt*, *Kur*, *Palit*, *Sein*, *Singha*, *Das* and *Gooho*; and the last contains other seventy-two sub-familics of the *Sudras*. Now "*Deva*" occurs in none of these lists; can it be then that Maharajah Nava Krishna adopted the surname to conceal an obscure birth? It does not appear to us likely that *Dey* was manipulated into *Deva*, for in that case the other "*Deys*" would have been "*Devas*" likewise, and the sons of Ramdoolal Sircar could not be *Devas*.

We have hitherto followed Rajah Nava Krishna's biographer, and noticed all the salient points in his hero's official character. We wish he had given us something more than a mere distant glimpse of his moral character. But what we have before

us is, we believe, enough to enable us to form a pretty accurate estimate of both the official and the man. Rajah Nava Krishna was certainly a great man. The architect of his own fortune could not but be a great man. To be able to make head through a thick array of divers and hostile interests—to be able to compel time and circumstances to yield to the dictation of a sovereign will—to be able to dis sever all co-relationship in the pursuit of a grand idea requires a combination of powers which nature seldom bestows on one individual. Nava Krishna had; of course, none of these things to do. He was not, and could not be, a great man in that sense. Nokoo Dhur supplemented certain natural abilities, and his pupil (Hastings) did the rest. Basking in the sunshine of patronage, any body can, as thousands have done, here and elsewhere, make himself the “observed of all observers.” Yet we are bound to admit that Nava Krishna’s rise is not to be attributed wholly to adventitious circumstances; that he was not a man of the ordinary stamp. Of the man we are sorry we have not much to say in his favor. We are glad to hear that he celebrated with great *eclât* the Doorga Pooja, his daughter’s marriage, and his mother’s *shrud* (which latter, we are told, cost him more than nine lacs of rupees). These ceremonies, however, are performed in every Hindoo family; and we feel convinced that any family that possessed the lamp of Alladdin could and would have performed them with even greater ostentation than the Rajah did with the spoils of the Moorshedabad treasury, and perhaps also with the perquisites that ought to have flowed into the pocket of the “right hand man of the chief ruler.” Vanity had induced him to gather round him a few Pundits, because, like *Vikramaditya*, and, in later days, like the Rajahs of Burdwan and Nuddya, he wanted to show that he was a great encourager of learning. The ghost of Hurroo Thakur, who got a thousand rupees for having extemporised four slipshod verses, ought to be made king’s evidence. The Rajah is said to have paid Rs. 45,000 for the building of a Christian Church, very consistently no doubt; for only a short time before he had had temples built for two idols, *Gopenath* and *Govind*. Strange that Englishmen do not, or will not, see through these devices. We know the late Scotch missionary (Dr. Duff) would not have touched a farthing from such questionable sources.

We should, therefore, like to know whether Rajah Nava Krishna was the sort of man whose memory we would fain snatch from the reluctant hands of oblivion. Is he to serve as a great exemplar whom the rising generation are to imitate? Decidedly not. “*Kritti jashya sha jibati.*” We fear the consolation of living

in works cannot be his. These *Krittis* are often times, if not always, deceptive. As we have said, at the outset, isolated acts, however good, cannot establish a claim to be remembered—the principle is wanting, and the motive is either selfish and contemptible, or mean and demoralizing. The Rajah's precipitate exodus from Cossimbazar may adorn (?) a tale, but we have, in vain, turned over the pages of the biography to find any thing that can point a moral, unless it be a moral of a negative kind—what to avoid, and what not to imitate. His biographer apologetically observes that some palliation of his character is to be found in the character of the times in which he lived; that, when educated Englishmen, like Clive, Vansittart, Hastings, and others, could not resist the love of gold, it was too much to expect that a half-educated man would be able to withstand the temptation, a view of the case which we would not be so uncharitable as not to endorse.

We should be doing great injustice if we concluded our notice of the biography without saying a word about the biographer. His book is well-written, and affords much pleasant reading. The style is neither of the *Bazar* nor of the *Tol*, which is saying not a little in his favor. His opinions on debatable points are such as we are bound to respect. Most biographers are hero-worshippers, a failing which we are glad to find Baboo Bipin Behary has succeeded in escaping. On the contrary, a tone of impartiality runs through the book which, we must confess, we had not expected. It gives us much pleasure to commend this biography to the patronage of the public.

Kánc'hí Kávirí, or The Captive Princess. By Baboo Rungo Lal Banerjee. Printed at the Ganesh Press, by Shosheebhooshun Doss. 1879.

THIS poem, consisting of seven *Sargos* (or Cantos), is founded upon a story which the author read in Sterling's History of Orissa when he was only fifteen years of age, and which, at the time, made a deep impression upon his mind. The substance of the story is this:

Padmini was the fair and accomplished daughter of the Rajah of Kánc'hinagar (Conjeveram). Gajapati, the Rajah of Orissa, wanted to marry her, and the father, although he had no objection to such an alliance, was quite disgusted when he came to know that Gajapati performed the duties of a sweeper (*Chundal*) before the image of Jagannátha. The match being broken off, Gajapati swore that he would obtain Padmini by force, and marry her to a real sweeper. A war followed, in which Jagannáth and Ballodeo

took a part ; Kanchinagar was lost, and Padmini fell into the hands of the victor. On the occasion of the ensuing *Ratha-Jattrā*, when Gajapati was engaged in sweeping, he was reminded of his oath, and, induced by the intercession of his subjects, he married her. "The end of this lady's history is as romantic as the preceding portion of it. She is said to have conceived and brought forth a son by Mahadeo, shortly after which she disappeared."

The author requires no introduction to the public. He has been so long before them, as a writer of both prose and poetry, that his bare name is sometimes held as a guarantee that something rich is in store for the reader. Baboo Rungo Lal has a marvellous command over the language in which he writes. The various measures he has introduced, in imitation of the distinguished poets of Bengal, are remarkable for their general smoothness and elegance. The following extracts will show that he possesses descriptive powers of no mean order.

কত দিনান্তরে খুঁতু নিদাঘ প্রবেশ ।
 খরতর কর শর বরিষে দিনেশ ॥
 প্রতপ্ত পৃথিবী, পয়ঃ, প্রতপ্ত শবন ।
 উপবন যায় লোক, তাজিয়া ভবন ।
 কিবা বনে, উপবনে, কিবা গিরিবনে ।
 মৃগবর্গ, শীর্ণপর্গ, দ্রুম লতা গণে ॥

পদ্মাবতি ।

কিবা অপরূপ, পদ্মাবতি রূপ,
 অলপ বয়সী বালা ।
 বেতকা কুতুম, কেশর কুক্ষুম,
 লাবণ্য ফুলের ডালা ॥
 নয়ন সুন্দর, নিল বিভাধর,
 কাজলে উজ্জল ভাতি ।
 যেন ইন্দীবরে, অলি শোভা করে,
 রবহীন মদে মাতি ॥

Ruktadantā, or the Fall of Ahmudnagore. By Baboo Jogeswar Bundopadhya. Albert Press, No. 46, Shibuarain Ghose's Lane, Bahir Simla, Calcutta. 1286.

THIS is a metrical, dramatic composition, and we are glad to say that it has never fallen to our lot to come across any thing more stupid. We have watched many of the eccentricities of Young Bengal, but this attempt to place the horse's head on the human trunk, which Horace so wittily ridicules—to transpose the blood of Western versification into the veins of the Prosody of Bengal—is an affectation which surpasses all the rest in

absurdity. We would ask Pandit Ishwar Chander Vidyashágar and Baboo Bankim Chander Chatterjee whether the following is Bengally :—

আজিও পড়িলে স্মৃতিপথে অত্যাচার
ভয়কর তা'র* কাঁপে অঙ্গ খরখরি :—
নহে ভয়ভীত। ভয় ?—কিসের ? বাহার'
জড়ঙ্গ কুটিল সদা সবস্পে নেহারি,
পূজয়ে চরণদ্বয় তীকু পাপী জনে,
কভু না কম্পনাকারে,—শূন্য হৃদ্যাবেশে
লভিয়াছে ওধিকার এ হৃদিভবনে
তাহা।

Bhāratya Granthābhāṣī. By Rajendra Nath Dutta. Bhawanipore, Shomaprokash Press, Calcutta. 1285.

THIS book is not merely a *catalogue* of ancient Sanscrit works. It also attempts to ascertain the dates of those works, and professes to give a description of their contents, with running commentaries. Such a book cannot but be of incalculable service to the reading public, but its value greatly depends upon its arrangement; if not easy of reference, its recommendation is *nil*. A *catalogue raisonné*, without an index, is very disappointing. The catalogue before us has no pretension to classification or order, and is simply provoking.

In his introduction, which extends to one-half of the book, the author discusses the question of the origin of the *Ariyas*, and supports his view—that all the civilized nations of ancient times lived in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus mountains, that they were descended from the same stock, and that they spoke the same language—by citing a few words which, with slight variations, are to this day spoken by those nations. We must confess that we have doubts as to the propriety of some of these words being pressed into service for such a purpose. A great deal of information, however, connected with the history, language, literature, religion, manners and customs of the *Ariyas* is to be found in this introduction, which will more than repay the trouble of a perusal.

The works the author notices are, among others, the *Gītāgovind*, *Kādamini*, *Ramayana*, *Mahābhārata* and *Bhūttikāvya*.

* *Ram Raja*, the reigning monarch of Beejonnugur in the middle of the sixteenth century, had recently wrested several districts for Beejapore; he had also overrun Telingana, blockaded the capital, and constrained the king to make large concessions.

Marshman's History of India.

Joaner Jibanbittantya. By Koilas Chandra Singha. No. 12,
Serpentine Lane, Bowbazar, Calcutta.

To English readers, of both sexes, the leading incidents in the history of the *Maid of Orleans* are familiar as household words—not so to the females of this country, to whom the very name of *Joan* is strange. Either totally illiterate, or very imperfectly educated, as a few of them now are, Native females have no opportunities of hearing of any thing that transpires in the world around them, and the war in Affghanistan is even of less importance to them than the squabbles between the cookwoman and the servant-maid. Yet their desire to learn is not the less keen on that account, nor do they treasure up the less willingly the scraps of information they pick up from sons or husbands. They would gladly extend their knowledge if domestic cares left them leisure, which means if Hindoo society had been differently constituted. They read, when they can read, with great avidity, the few books, principally of a rudimentary character, which form their little library, and to which the *Life of Joan*, dedicated to a Hindoo lady, and therefore evidently intended for the class of readers we are speaking of, will be a valuable accession. The author's style of composition is easy, chaste and graceful, and the subject he has chosen cannot, on account of the reputed tragic end of the unfortunate peasant-girl, fail to deeply affect the female mind. We should be glad indeed to see similar works undertaken by other writers.
